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Shelby Moore Cullom



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HELD IN THE
ILLINOIS STATE CAPITOL
Sunday, February 1, 1914

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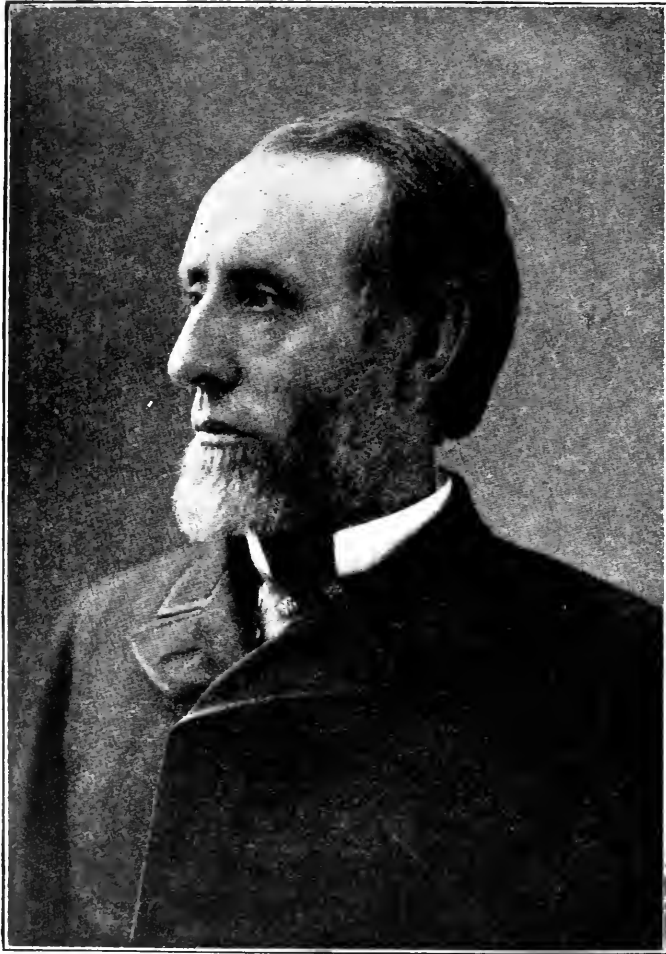
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W. H. Bellom

U. S. OF D.
DEC 24 1918

Scripture Reading.....	Rev. Donald McLeod
Hymn—"Lead Kindly Light".....	Choir
Prayer—Reading Twenty-third Psalm.....	Rev. Donald McLeod
Funeral Sermon.....	Rev. Donald McLeod
Music—"Crossing the Bar".....	Choir
Address.....	Governor Edward F. Dunne
Address.....	United States Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman
Memorial Address.....	Mr. Clinton L. Conkling

SHELBY MOORE CULLOM.

The body of the dead statesman lay in state in the Capitol from 9 to 12 o'clock in the morning, Sunday, February 1, 1914, with non-commissioned officers of the Illinois National Guard standing guard. Many hundreds of persons, including visitors who had come in during the course of the night for the final services, viewed the features.

At the funeral hour, 2:30 o'clock, Representatives Hall was filled. A large space had been reserved for members of the family and personal friends, but further than this the service was public.

DISTINGUISHED MEN PRESENT.

The groups of men were noticeable. Near the front of the reserved section sat three former Illinois governors—Joseph W. Fifer, of Bloomington; Richard Yates, of Springfield, and Charles S. Deneen, of Chicago. Sitting nearby was former United States Senator Albert J. Hopkins, of Aurora. Judge J. Otis Humphrey, one of Senator Cullom's closest friends; Adj. Gen. Frank S. Dickson, Supreme Justice Orrin N. Carter, and others.

Sitting side by side a few seats back of the casket, which occupied a position in front of the speaker's stand in Representatives' Hall, were John W. Bunn, veteran business man of Springfield, and Dr. William Jayne, territorial governor of the Dakotas, whom Abraham Lincoln appointed, and both of whom not only were Lincoln's friends but intimate friends of the late Shelby M. Cullom as well.

The section to the left of the casket was reserved for the relatives. To the right sat the pallbearers, all friends of the departed statesman. The choir of the First Presbyterian Church which sang, occupied the west press box of the chamber.

SERVICES OPENED WITH SCRIPTURE.

Dr. Donald McLeod, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, officiating minister, occupied a place on the speaker's rostrum with Governor E. F. Dunne, United States Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman and Mr. Clinton L. Conkling, who delivered the memorial address.

The reading of a passage of Scripture by the officiating clergyman marked the opening of the service. Members of the choir, including Mrs. Will Taylor, Mrs. Frank V. Partridge, Harry Smith, and Lawrence Flinn, with Miss Ethel Lynn Ross accompanying, sang "Lead Kindly Light."

A prayer by the minister preceded the reading of the Twenty-third Psalm, after which Dr. McLeod gave a short address.

In turn, the addresses of Governor Dunne, United States Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman and of Mr. Conkling, followed.

With the pronouncement of the benediction, the service was closed, and pallbearers bore the remains from the hall while the hundreds of friends stood reverently.

FLORAL TRIBUTES ABOUT COFFIN.

The casket occupied a position north of the speaker's and clerk's desks, the bier extending for a distance up the center aisle. The floral tributes of distinguished donors were piled about the coffin. Black draperies were hung from the lights about the clerk's desk.

The tributes included pieces sent by President and Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, Robert T. Lincoln, members of the Lincoln Memorial Commission at Washington, the citizens of Cairo, the piece of eighty-five roses from Fred A. Busse, John C. Ames, D. A. Campbell, Frank L. Smith, C. P. Gardner, James H. Wilkerson, L. T. Hoy, and Garfield Charles, and Mrs. John A. Logan, and numerous pieces from others, including a tribute from the Sangamo Club, of which the deceased was an honorary member.

The ushers at the capitol were: Owsley Brown and Frank L. Hatch, assisted by E. S. Scott, Stuart Brown, Walter M. Allen, Scott Humphrey, James A. Easley, Colburn F. Buck, H. H. Dickerman, Jerome A. Leland, George Pasfield, Latham T. Souther, Hay Brown, John H. McCreary, Ernest Helmle, P. B. Warren, Henry Ables, Logan Coleman, Will H. Conkling, Colonel Henry Davis, George E. Keys, Robert C. Lamphier, V. Y. Dallman, George M. Brinkerhoff, jr., W. B. Jess, S. Leigh Call, and Dr. C. L. Patton.

The military guard used to assist at the state house and at the grave was as follows:

First Cavalry—Sergeant Major F. H. Clarke, Color Sergeant F. J. Lippert, Quartermaster Sergeants Edward Spearing, J. C. McGregor, James Doorley; Sergeants Edward Fiebig and Einer Schjerven; Trumpeter W. H. Buchanan.

First Infantry—Sergeants Melvin W. Bridges, Raymond E. Darrow, Louis C. Hilgeman, James H. O'Brien, John E. Hayes, Frank S. Boland, Hoyt M. Peters, Fred C. Berk.

Second Infantry—Sergeants Albert F. Lind, Max L. Gronow, C. A. Lindvall, W. E. Martin, Thomas Smith, Harry Cohen, Willis R. Slimmer and John L. Stafford.

Seventh Infantry—Sergeants James Burns, John Caldwell, Peter Rosenwicz, James Cull, Clarence Bernhardt, Charles C. Southern, and James Johnson.

Illinois Naval Reserve—Petty Officers W. H. Brown, P. L. Sipp, K. K. Bradberry, and W. T. Shiplock.

FORMER SECRETARY PRECEDES CASKET.

The pallbearers were:

Preceding the casket—Garfield Charles of Chicago, former secretary to Senator Cullom.

Following the casket—George B. Stadden of Springfield.

Paired off and serving at opposite sides of the casket—Frank Fisher and Shelby C. Dorwin, Senator Logan Hay and Jacob Bunn, Harry A.

Converse and Edward S. Robinson, Postmaster Loren E. Wheeler and Henry Merriam.

The cortege, proceeding east on Capitol Avenue after it had formed at the north doors of the capitol, moved east to Sixth Street, north to Washington, west to Fourth and out north to the cemetery. Hundreds of persons were grouped in numerous places to witness the passing of the funeral procession.

The Sangamon County Bar Association met at the Leland hotel at 2 o'clock and marched in a body to the state house.

BURIAL IN OAK RIDGE CEMETERY.

Friends lowered into the grave, a stone's throw northeast of the Lincoln Monument, the remains of the martyr's distinguished protege and friend, Shelby M. Cullom.

The simple little ceremony, accompanied only by a brief word from the officiating pastor and a short prayer, closed the book upon the epochs of a life of more than fourscore years in length and of half a century of continuous service to the public.

Concluding the significant services of the day, the burial scene in simplicity emulated the career of the famous man and emphasized more vividly than ever the imprint of the Emancipator's influence upon the life just closed.

Past governors of Illinois, former United States senators, present State officials, and a host of friends looked on as the mortal remains of the statesman were made ready to pursue the biblical injunction of earth to earth, dust to dust, and ashes to ashes.

STATE PAYS TRIBUTE TO DEAD.

The funeral day was one which Springfield will not soon forget. Perhaps not a greater representative body of political folk has been assembled since the funeral of Lincoln; it is certain that the ends of the State never were more thoroughly represented.

The near relatives of Senator Cullom were present at the services. Miss Victoria Fisher, of Washington, sister-in-law of the senator; Miss Kate Fisher, of Springfield, also a sister-in-law of Senator Cullom; William Barrett Ridgely, son-in-law; two nieces and four grandnieces were there. Mrs. G. H. Schimpff, of Peoria, niece, and two sons, Herman and Charles; Mr. and Mrs. George Davis of Peoria; another niece, and two children, George and Shelby Cullom Davis; Postmaster John Culberson and Herbert Skelly; Mrs. Berenice McGee and Mrs. Florence Harwood of Williamsville and John Fisher of Ohio, Ill.

The only sister of the departed senator, Mrs. Lina Leeper, of Farmington, was not able to attend on account of her advanced age.

Those attending from Springfield were: Miss Fannie Fisher, Miss Lillie Fisher, Mr. and Mrs. H. F. Dorwin, Mr. and Mrs. Shelby C. Dorwin, Frank R. Fisher, Reed S. Fisher, Miss Bertha Fisher, Miss Anna Fisher, Miss Laura Fisher, Miss Kate Fisher, George T. Fisher, Miss Sarah Fisher, Miss Sue Fisher, Miss Elizabeth Fisher, Mrs. Julia Bates, Miss Ethel Bates, Mrs. Louise Wieties, and Mrs. Avery Bea.

PROMINENT RESIDENTS OF STATE PAY FINAL TRIBUTE.

In addition to the resident State officials, many prominent men came from Chicago and other parts of the State for the service, and several organizations were represented.

Among those who were here from a distance were:

Former Governor Charles S. Deneen, Chicago.

Former Governor Joseph W. Fifer, Bloomington.

Former United States Senator Albert J. Hopkins, Aurora.

Former United States Senator William E. Mason, Chicago.

Lieutenant Governor Barrett O'Hara, Chicago.

Former Secretary of State Cornelius J. Doyle, Springfield.

Speaker William McKinley, Chicago.

Former Mayor Fred A. Busse, Chicago.

Postmaster Daniel A. Campbell, Chicago.

John C. Ames, James H. Wilkerson, Lyman T. Hoy, D. E. Shanahan, Chicago; C. P. Gardner, Mendota; John A. Sterling, Bloomington; Ralph Bradford, Pontiac; P. T. Chapman, Vienna; Frank L. Smith, Dwight; A. C. Bartlett, Chicago; J. W. Kitchell, Pana; Mayor Wood, Cairo; Sidney S. Miller, Cairo; Robert H. Lovett, Peoria; George C. Rankin, Monmouth; T. B. Needles, Nashville; J. V. Graff, Peoria; James B. Searey, Thomas K. Rinaker, George Jordan, Will B. Otwell, James E. McClure, George J. Castle, M. L. Keplinger, all of Carlinville; Charles E. Cox, Pittsfield; L. A. Townsend, Galesburg; William Winnans, Chicago; T. S. Chapman, Jerseyville; Lafayette Funk, Bloomington; W. A. Rodenburg, East St. Louis; W. E. Trautman, East St. Louis; E. S. Nielholson, Beardstown; William H. Behrens, Carlinville; O. A. Harker, Champaign; Thomas C. Milchrist, Chicago; Zeno J. Rives, Litchfield; David Davis, Litchfield; Homer J. Tice, Greenview; C. P. Hitch, Paris; John S. Spry, Chicago; John M. Glenn, Chicago; Col. Frank O. Lowden, Chicago; Alva Merrill, Peoria; Walter S. Loudon, East St. Louis; Theodore G. Risley, Mt. Carmel; V. A. Fritchey, Olney; J. W. Becker, Jerseyville; A. J. Scrogin, Lexington; Garfield Charles, Chicago; W. F. Calhoun, Decatur; John J. Reeve, Jacksonville; Thomas Worthington, Jacksonville; P. G. Rennie, Peoria; T. C. MacMillan, Chicago; J. S. Aisthorpe, Cairo; H. N. Schuyler, Pana; W. F. Bundy, Centralia; C. T. Beckman, Petersburg; John A. Montelius, Piper City; Elijah Needham, Virginia; Josiah Kerrick, Minonk; Julius S. Starr, Peoria; Frank R. Milnor, Litchfield; Roger Sullivan, Chicago; Judge W. A. Vincent, Judge Dennis Sullivan, Judge McKinley, Chicago; R. S. Jones, Flora; former Secretary of State Henry Dement.

Citizens of Cairo, who feel indebted to the dead statesman specially for the original \$250,000 which Congress appropriated for the improving of levees in the Cairo district after the disastrous flood a year ago, appointed a delegation to represent them at the service. This quarter of a million dollars was the nucleus of nearly \$1,000,000 which since has been raised for the project of levee and drainage improvement.

In the Cairo party were: Mayor W. H. Wood, chairman; former Mayor George Parsons, Postmaster Sidney B. Miller, former State Senator Walter Warder, John S. Aisthorpe, Judge W. N. Butler, M. F. Gilbert, H. S. Antrim, John Greaney, E. L. Gilbert, P. T. Langan, W.

F. Crossley, George T. Carnes, A. S. Frazer, sheriff; Frank Spencer, Richard Gannan, C. V. Neff, E. E. Cox, and J. B. Magee.

The Cairo visitors, with all others from out of the city, assembled at the Sangamo Club, where club officials and members received them preparatory to their march to the Capitol for the funeral services.



FUNERAL SERMON.

REV. DONALD MCLEOD, D. D., Pastor, First Presbyterian Church,
Springfield, Ill.

Of all the transformations effected in this world, through nineteen centuries, by the gospel of Jesus Christ, there is none greater and more blessed than the change in the attitude of human thought and sentiment toward the great event in the progress of human destiny before which we reverently bow today.

The age-long night of darkness and fear that enshrouded death has been gradually disappearing before the increasing splendor of the rising and ascending sun of the triumphant resurrection day of the great Son of Man; and when this sun shall have reached its meridian, the last lingering shadow of the fear of death will have passed from the christian horizon, and in the full light of divine revelation we will see with God, that death is not a loss, but an incomparable gain; death is not a catastrophe, but a consummation; death is not the eclipsing of the luminous ideal; the lowering of the lofty aim; the overthrow of the magnificent plan; the paralysis of the heroic purpose; the suspension of the altruistic service—death is the translation of them all for richer and greater fruition to the larger and more gorgeous stage of the eternal. Death is not the end of a career, nor the beginning of a career, but a significant event in the continuous progress of an immortal destiny. Jesus said: "I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he die, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die." The great poet adds: "There is no death; what seems so is transition. This life of mortal breath is but a suburb of the life Elysian whose portal we call death."

While God has much of promise, power, attainment and hope mixed with burden, weakness and pain for his children in this world, it is beyond the gate of death God beholds for us the beautiful vision. To unveil its glory he exhausts the last resource of human language and imagery: "And he showed me a river of water of life, bright as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the lamb in the midst of the street thereof. And on this side of the river and on that was the tree of life, bearing twelve manner of fruits, yielding its fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations." "And I heard a voice from heaven saying, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labors: for their works follow with them." "For we know that if the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved we have a building from God, a house not made with hands eternal in the heavens."

In response to our heavenly father's abounding comfort, we should sorrow not today as those who are without hope. The clouds of our

sorrow are pierced and streaked with the radiant light of an immortal hope. God's song of comfort and consolation for us today has a succession of great notes.

We should be comforted because here was one that enjoyed the full measure of the promised span of earthly existence. God says: "The days of our years are three score years and ten, or even by reason of strength the four score years. Yet is their pride but labor and sorrow. For it is soon gone and we fly away." Our distinguished friend, Senator Shelby M. Cullom, in the full enjoyment of his mental powers, carried the burdens of exalted position and large responsibility past the three score years and ten; past the four score years, and well toward the four score years and ten. He rounded out a full age, and went to his home "Like as a shock of corn cometh in in its season."

We should be comforted because here was an actor that played his part upon the world stage for more than half a century, the most spectacular and thrilling in its events, the mightiest and most magnificent in its achievements in the history of modern times, if not indeed in all the history of the world. What dramatic scenes have been enacted upon the world stage during these memorable years! He saw the republic pass through its baptism of blood and emerge from it to enter upon the most phenomenal period of progress in the history of nations. He witnessed the formation of the German empire; he watched the unification of the various states and principalities of Italy under a constitutional monarchy; he saw the sun of Japan rising over the crags of Port Arthur; through the triumphs of steam and electricity he witnessed the annihilation of space, so that London, Paris or Berlin are closer to New York than Washington and Pittsburgh used to be when he entered upon the stage.

Through telegraph, telephone and wireless telegraphy he has seen the whole world converted into a veritable whispering gallery. By means of the cylinder press he has seen universal education brought out of the land of dreams and made a commonplace of everyday life. He has lived in the golden age of democracy, liberty, equality, opportunity.

We should be comforted because our honored and distinguished citizen was not a mere curtain raiser or scene shifter, but a conspicuous actor upon the national and world stage during the enactment of the wonderful drama of the last half century. Twice elected governor of this great sovereign State, five times elected United States senator. In the greatest deliberative body in the world, in length of service exceeded only by two men in all the history of the republic. In patriotism, in devotion to duty, in loftiness of purpose, purity of motive and integrity of character, the peer of any of the immortals who have graced the halls of the United States senate.

We should be comforted because in the stress of the insidious temptations of public life, peculiar to an era of rapid progress, great enthusiasms, phenomenal wealth, laxity of conscience, while other men, distinguished in achievement, brilliant in attainments and high in public esteem were taken off their guard and beguiled into slippery places, Senator Shelby M. Cullom maintained his integrity unsmirched unto the end. In the blazing light that shines upon his exalted position, no sel-

fishness can be seen in his motive, no dishonesty in his conduct, no stain upon his character.

We should be comforted because the senator realized the fruition of his hopes. He has not gone into the great future with the worm of disappointed ambition gnawing at his soul. His last ambition was to assure the erection of a monument in the national capital worthy of the character and achievement of his immortal friend and fellow citizen, Abraham Lincoln. For the form and fact of that monument, which will soon be a thing of beauty and an honor to the national capital and the nation—the credit belongs supremely to the Hon. Shelby M. Cullom.

The coronation of our comfort is that the highest and best in this world is only the vestibule of the palace—the porch of the great temple. God says: "Abraham died and he was gathered to his people. Job died and was gathered to his people." "Thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace." "Thou shalt see the king in his beauty." Weary and burdened with the weight of age and infirmity, longing for the companionship of friends and loved ones gone before, can faith not see the door of death opening into chambers more gorgeous than senate chambers of earth, and welcome to the companionship of loved ones and into the fellowship of all the great souls of all the ages.

ADDRESS—SHELBY M. CULLOM.

HON. EDWARD F. DUNNE, Governor of Illinois.

Man dies but his memory lives. His material part dissolves and decays; his spiritual and intellectual elements survive and endure.

All that was mortal of Shelby M. Cullom lies before us helpless and inert. The spiritual and intellectual record of his past lies before us vigorous and forceful.

It falls to the lot of few men to have their lives so long and so prominently woven into the history of his State and country as was the life of Senator Cullom.

To fewer still does it fall to leave behind him after such a life so fragrant and wholesome a memory. For over half a century he held public office continuously down to the hour of his death.

During that half century parties were born and died, policies of government changed, leaders rose and fell, party ties were broken and realigned, and during that half century this man living continuously in one small county, by his force of character, lovable disposition, and above all, by his irreproachable integrity, secured and retained the confidence and respect of the people of a great State, who kept him amidst all the vicissitudes of political warfare in positions of the highest dignity and responsibility.

His was not the blazing light of the flaring comet which dazzles the eye and soon is lost in darkness, but the steady sober light of the heavenly star which shines throughout the long years with unvarying purity and splendor.

The secret of Senator Cullom's marvelous hold upon his fellow citizens is easily understood. No man has ever succeeded in retaining the confidence of the public for any great length of time unless the public were convinced of his integrity.

Brilliant men have arisen in public life in this and every other country by sheer force of their intellectual strength. For a time they have succeeded in arousing and holding the admiration of their fellow men, but no man, however brilliant he may be, has ever succeeded in keeping himself in positions of public trust and honor unless he had that first essential of a successful statesman, inbred honesty.

If a flaw be found in the armor of that integrity, the people will drive such a man from public life. Jefferson once said, "That the whole art of government consists in the art of being honest," and that is the reason, in my judgment, why Senator Cullom was so adept in the art of government.

I knew him not, personally. I differed with him, as many have, on political issues. I believed his party erred repeatedly, and that he erred with his party, but as I look over his long career I cannot find a time

when I ever believed that he was dishonest in his votes, or in the advocacy of his party principles.

All men in public life are subjected to fierce criticism by their political enemies, and he did not escape it. Most of this criticism is, as a rule, unjust, and actuated by party rancor, but no critic that I have ever read or heard during the one-half century of his political life ever questioned Senator Cullom's integrity.

For thirty years he was a member of an exalted body of legislators, where opulence was the rule and a moderate competency the exception. He had before him the temptations thrown around every man in public life. He became intimately acquainted with the ease and luxury which wealth produces, and which make other men envious of such possessions, and yet this man lived and died comparatively a poor man, which is the best test of integrity and devotion to duty.

May this life of integrity which he led and this reputation which he leaves behind him be an incentive to the public men of the day, and of the days to come, to devote their lives as he did to their country's welfare, without price or reward, except such as is given by the law of the land.

His friends and relatives have the consolation of knowing that he left behind him a heritage greater and grander than all earthly riches—the heritage of an honest name and a record of duty done.

The State of Illinois numbers among its illustrious sons the names of many whom history would record among the nation's great. The name of Lincoln is titanic. The name of Douglas, Yates, Oglesby, Logan and Altgeld will go down in history, not only among the great men of Illinois, but among the great men of the American nation, and in the long roster of the names of which Illinois feels proud, and which she has given to the American nation, let us now record, as he sleeps in his grave, the name of Shelby M. Cullom.

ADDRESS OF UNITED STATES SENATOR, LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN.

This day mortality's last tribute to the dead is paid. Our voices break a fleeting moment the gathering silence of the grave. We, who still walk for a certain period on time's ever-changing shore, will soon from this place separate each to his several way. Our generation like its predecessors, will swiftly pass to its appointed end.

To few of us will be given Senator Cullom's length of years and full measure of honor and usefulness.

Nearly all of his contemporaries have joined the silent majority. But this brief service in this legislative hall does not mark the beginning of forgetfulness. Death has stricken his name from the roll of the living, but it cannot obliterate his deeds of fifty years.

He was of the type who build states and successfully govern nations.

Neither the agitator nor the destroyer found in him a response. If sometimes he seemed to plod, it was but a patient pause that sprang from the research and deliberation that sought the path of safety. He dealt with the vital and the elemental, and he knew instinctively that in such things errors were costly. He always feared mistakes. He never feared criticism. When an evil existed he saw it and spent no time in idle denunciation and self advertisement. He devised remedies and sought their adoption. In the remarkable development following the Civil War, he observed that the distribution of things was as needful as their production. He made no crusade on common carriers. He supported wise regulation, but never the destruction or embarrassment of railways. After twenty-seven years, all now recognize the sound, far-sighted understanding that guided his course in the uncertainty that beset and clouded the problem then.

His interstate commerce law was a pioneer and it survives. Like the fathers who saw with prescient eye the strength of plan and principle, leaving the superstructure for worthy sons, so he too, sketched with unerring hand and hewed with sturdy strokes until the foundation was strong and the plan secure.

What matters it that some of its sections failed? Every adverse judicial decision was creative criticism that served to perfect and apply his original thought. Today his act is re-enforced and fortified by legislation and administration until the law that Cullom penned governs two hundred and fifty thousand miles of railroad in justice. His name is imperishably entwined with one of the great laws of the United States.

Bronze and marble can add nothing to the monument he builded for himself while on earth.

It was no mere accident that kept him in public life for more than fifty years. His associates were some of the most remarkable men of our country. He kept pace with them in peace and war and met his duties with ability, dignity and power. His integrity, simplicity and greatness of common sense linked his name with Illinois for half a century.

For thirty years he was a Senator of the United States. The simple statement is the eloquent eulogy that no elaboration can strengthen or surpass. For more than twenty years he served our State before he passed into the wider theatre of national life.

Within thy limits, Oh Springfield, many of his comrades rest from their toil! In future years the generations yet to come will turn their footsteps to Lincoln's grave as of old, the shrine of freedom and liberty under the rule of law. Within that hallowed ground, consecrated by the sacred memories of an heroic age, we commit the mortal body of Cullom to his tomb.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS.

MR. CLINTON L. CONKLING.

To a thoughtful mind, the study of the lives of eminent men is both interesting and instructive.

When this study is of one whom we have known and admired there is an added pleasure and profit.

Today we meet to briefly review the career of one of these notable men of our day and express our appreciation of his virtues.

Among those men who have achieved eminence in the State and in the Nation, Senator Shelby M. Cullom has occupied an enviable position.

The story of his life as legislator, governor, congressman, senator and statesman has been most eloquently presented. This is the record of his public life, but it is however not complete without some reference to the years wherein he was engaged in the study and active practice of the law at the Sangamon County Bar.

Like many another successful lawyer, his early years were spent on a farm. The pure air and active physical employments of the country made him strong to endure the stress of the years of mental activity which were to follow. The life of a country school teacher in a comparatively primitive community added to his experiences. The lure of the land, however, soon lost its hold upon his ambitious mind. He was looking into the future endeavoring to forecast what the fates might have in store for him. The way that led most directly to prominence and political preferment, in that day, much more than it does now, was the study and practice of the law. To this he determined to devote himself. Coming to Springfield, he sought the advice of Abraham Lincoln, who was a warm personal friend of his father. Mr. Lincoln advised him not to enter his office, because he was away so much of the time on the Circuit, that he would be unable to give him that personal attention in his studies which he should receive from his preceptor. He advised him to study with Stuart & Edwards, then in the forefront of the Sangamon County Bar. So in 1853 he commenced to read law with that firm and incidentally, as was the custom of that day, swept out the office, made the fires when necessary, and was general assistant. After the prescribed two years' course of reading, he was in 1855 admitted to the bar and almost immediately was elected City Attorney of Springfield, then but a small town. Thus early did he utilize his newly acquired profession to enable him to win political as well as professional position.

In the Courts of the Justices of the Peace—the so-called Courts of the People—he learned his first lessons as a practicing lawyer. Much of his term was occupied in the prosecution, under the city ordinances,

of what were called liquor cases. In these courts, humble though they were, he acquired habits of ready speech and resourcefulness which stood him in good stead in the future. He here learned, as the lawyers say, "to be ready on his feet."

His first partnership was with Antrim Campbell as Campbell & Cullom. Very soon Milton Hay, one of the most eminent lawyers in the State, became, about 1861, the senior partner and the firm was known as Hay, Campbell & Cullom.

Presently Mr. Campbell retired to accept an official position in the United States Circuit Court and the name then became Hay & Cullom. The firm had a large and lucrative practice for that day, much of which was in the United States courts at Springfield. They frequently appeared in the so called "cotton cases" arising out of the operations of the Federal armies in the South and in many most important cases involving the title to valuable lands in the Military Tract, a region lying between the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers.

Mr. Hay, as senior member of the firm and by reason of his great experience and ability, bore the brunt of the trials and arguments before the court, but Mr. Cullom was an able assistant. The wide acquaintance of the latter and his agreeable personality brought to them many clients.

This partnership lasted until about 1866. Not long thereafter Mr. Cullom became associated with Charles S. Zane, who, in 1833, was elected one of the judges of the Fifth Judicial Circuit, of which Sangamon County was a part, and afterwards, in 1883, became Chief Justice of the Territory of Utah, and had much to do with the suppression of polygamy among the Mormons. A short time before Judge Zane's election Mr. Cullom seems to have abandoned the legal profession and to have gone into the banking business, but this was soon forsaken and he returned to the profession of politics in which he had been so successful and which in the future was to bring to him many years of success and abundant rewards in honor and usefulness.

Mr. Cullom was a zealous and painstaking lawyer. While he was not a great orator he was a forceful speaker and was persuasive in manner and speech. His code of ethics was admirable and he possessed the confidence of the Bench.

His legal education and experience were of great assistance to him in his subsequent legislative, executive and congressional work.

At the time he entered the legal profession and for some years thereafter the Bar of Sangamon County was as brilliant and able as any in the country. By frequent contact in the courts and elsewhere with the eminent men of those days he was being fashioned and formed to become the statesman of later years.

He numbered among his friends and associates of that bar, Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator, Stephen A. Douglas, the Little Giant and the great patriot, Stephen T. Logan, the distinguished jurist, John T. Stuart and Benjamin S. Edwards, both most able lawyers, General John M. Palmer, soldier and friend of the oppressed Negro, Judge David Davis, later of the United States Supreme Court, O. H. Browning, the polished gentleman of the Old School, Colonel Edward D. Baker, the brilliant orator, who died at Ball's Bluff, Milton Hay, friend and ad-

visor of the Martyr President, William H. Herndon, the erratic law partner of Mr. Lincoln, Richard Yates, the great War Governor of Illinois, James C. Conkling, a brilliant and cultivated speaker, General John A. McClelland, impetuous and fiery but thoroughly loyal to the Union; and with these were many others of note. The inspiration derived from personal contact with these men had a lasting effect upon Mr. Cullom. From these experiences and this environment he learned to weigh well his words and his acts while they were yet within his control, and to consider their future effect as well as present advantage. He was always level headed.

Shelby M. Cullom, as farmer, teacher, student, lawyer, legislator, governor, congressman and statesman is before you. It seems that these should round out the story of his life and that the record should now be closed, but there is something still to be said.

Into the sacred circle of that happy home life which was his for so many years we will not enter. Suffice it to say, it was ideal for its purity and sweetness.

But we wish to say a few words of him as a neighbor. He was always genial and cordial towards those who lived near him. His friendly, cheerful ways endeared him to all. Those who differed with him politically were socially his firm friends. To the poor and unfortunate he was kind. The struggling young man seeking wise advice could depend upon his aid.

Even as I write there comes to me from a perfect stranger in a far distant city the fervent words of a successful lawyer who begs that at this time he may pay his tribute at the bier of this fallen chieftain, who, he says, "to him and to his fellow Negroes of the nation was a second Lincoln." As a Negro orphan boy, born in slavery this writer through his aid, counsel and advice passed through grammar school, high school and university, up to professional success.

Mr. Cullom, as a lawyer, in his early manhood obtained a lucrative practice; as a politician of the best type he was eminently successful; as a statesman, he was conservative and safe. Amid all his successes he was always democratic in feeling and readily accessible to any of his constituents. He was hard-working, pains-taking and conscientious in his public duties.

His private life was pure and in public life no scandal attached itself to his name. He was beloved by his friends. In his death, this State has lost one of its most eminent sons, and his neighbors a warm personal friend.

And finally, with the last page of his record of "Fifty Years of Public Service" open before us, let us rejoice that the doubts which beset him in the "dark day when the light was dim," passed away before the last supreme moment came and that he who "longed to meet the loved ones who have gone before," could say:

"I shall one day stand by the water cold,

And list for the sound of the boatsman's oar;

I shall watch for a gleam of the flapping sail,

I shall hear the boat as it gains the strand,

I shall pass from sight with the boatman pale,

To the better shore of the Spirit Land.

I shall know the loved ones who have gone before,
 And joyfully sweet will the meeting be,
 When over the river, the peaceful river,
 The angel of death shall carry me."

LETTER FROM MR. EDWARD F. LEONARD, AMHERST, MASS., INTIMATE
 FRIEND AND FORMER SECRETARY OF SHELBY M. CULLOM.

AMHERST, MASS., *March 18, 1914.*

MY DEAR JUDGE: In answer to your favor of 16th inst., I cannot tell you anything which you do not know, but I have briefly noted some things which will serve to remind you of subjects worthy of your notice.

Some of the most important characteristics of Cullom's career cannot be fully emphasized—such as his habits of living and his relations to party politics because it would challenge comparison with others who have been Governor and might seem to be said for that purpose.

But you can afford to say that Cullom enjoyed while he was Governor in a very high degree the respect and confidence of the people of the State, which he fully merited both by his official conduct and by the many virtues which marked his career in private life.

In Cullom's "Fifty Years of Public Service," pages 160-168, for some good suggestions—especially about the East St. Louis strike—and his closing remarks about the character of his administration. Also about his relations to the Legislature, when his varied personal experience in legislative bodies gave him great and useful influence. Governor Cullom inaugurated the requisition of public notice of the hearing of applications for pardons by advertisement in the county where the trial and conviction occurred, and also required statements from the judge and State's attorney, giving their views of the merits of the case. This has since been adopted in the practice before the Pardon Board, and has been very effective in securing good results in this important branch of the Governor's duties.

In Cullom's term the care of the public institutions formed in volume and importance the chief part of his work and on this subject see what follows.

His administration and management of the penal and charitable departments of the State were eminently successful.

During his term of office a number of important new institutions were authorized and their location and construction have proven to have been well chosen and designed.

No man in Illinois had a more intimate and accurate knowledge of the State and its people, and by this he was enabled to select capable and efficient boards of trustees and commissioners, and while he left to them the details of organization, he kept in close touch with them and was always accessible for consultation and advice.

As a result, there were no scandals, and under his direction and that of the State Board of Charities and the State Auditing Department, the finances of the State institutions were never involved or embarrassed.

And privately, I add to you that none of the recent legislation on this subject would have been necessary if Cullom's methods of appointment and control had been followed by his successors.

This does not amount to much, but it may be of some use to you.
Yours sincerely,

E. F. LEONARD.

To Judge J O. Humphrey.

FORMER SLAVE BOY PAYS HIS TRIBUTE TO SENATOR CULLOM.

One of the interesting tributes which has come to the relatives and friends of the late Mr. Cullom is one from a colored lawyer, Brown S. Smith, of Minneapolis, Minn., a former slave boy, whom Cullom, when Governor of Illinois, befriended.

In a letter to Hon. Clinton L. Conkling, one of the speakers of the afternoon, Smith voices his feelings in the following language:

Hon. Clinton L. Conkling, Springfield, Ill.

MY DEAR SIR: On reading the Associated Press dispatches, I learned that you are to be one of the speakers at the obsequies of the late Senator Cullom. I regret very much that I cannot be present to join the citizens of the nation in paying the last sad rites to all that is mortal of this good and great man.

In his death at this time, I feel the nation has lost a safe and courageous guide; and the Negro race, in particular, a staunch friend and benefactor.

In 1876 a Negro orphan boy, born in slavery, wandered from the South to Illinois, landing in Springfield. He had had no schooling, comparatively, but only enough to whet within him a thirst for education.

In 1877 he first met this great leader, then Governor, and was by him encouraged to enter the grammar schools and try for an education. Through his aid, counsel and advice he entered the school, passing from which to the high school, from which he graduated in June, 1883, working in the meantime for his board and clothing. At the close of his high school career, backed by that same safe, sane and earnest counsel, he went to the farm and worked for a year and a half, during which time money was earned with which to enter the University of Michigan, from which institution he was graduated in law in 1886, and has been since and now is engaged in practice with a reasonable degree of success.

I can truthfully say of the dead statesman that he was not only by profession, but by practice, a friend of the worthy poor and struggling, of whatever race. No young man or woman, with the yearnings to rise in the world, ever approached and counseled him who did not leave him with a light heart and new resolution.

And now this Negro man, on behalf of himself and the ten millions of his race, deems it but fitting that at this time he should be allowed to add his mite to the tribute to be paid at the bier of this fallen chieftain: who to the Negroes of the nation was a second Lincoln. To us, with the lapse of years, his memory will grow green, and children, yet unborn, shall live to sing his praises.

Kindly extend to the family for me, in this their hour of bereavement, my tenderest sympathy, and say to them that though settled in these snowcapped plains of Minnesota, my heart is at this hour there with them and mourns the loss of our common friend.

Very truly,

BROWN S. SMITH.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

Members of the First Presbyterian church adopted resolutions eulogistic of the late Mr. Cullom. The resolutions follow:

WHEREAS, From his early manhood to his death, the late Shelby M. Cullom has made his church home with First Presbyterian church of Springfield, Ill.; and

WHEREAS, The family of the deceased, including his wife and children, were esteemed members of this church, and rendered efficient service during their residence in Springfield; and

WHEREAS, The deceased, by his regular attendance at our church services during his stay in this city and his deep interest in the growth and support of the church, greatly endeared himself to our entire membership; and

WHEREAS, This church, with the entire community, is called upon to mourn the death of a most exemplary citizen, kind friend and worthy official; and

WHEREAS, The record of Governor Cullom as a citizen and as a high official of the State and Nation, is most worthy of emulation; therefore, be it

Resolved, That, as a church, we join with this entire community in mourning the decease of the late United States Senator Shelby M. Cullom, who for more than half a century, rendered such distinguished and highly creditable, patriotic service to Springfield, to the State and to the Nation.

Resolved, That the members of the church with whom, when in the city, he regularly attended divine service for more than half a century, extend to the family and friends of the deceased, the fullest measure of sympathy in the irreparable loss they, as well as all the advocates of good government, have sustained in the death of Shelby M. Cullom, who was blessed with much more than the allotted time of three score years and ten.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions be spread upon the records of the congregation of this church and a copy sent to the family of the deceased.

CHARLES F. MILLS,

J. L. PICKERING,

JOHN E. GEORGE,

Committee of Congregation of First Presbyterian Church.

DONALD C. MACLEOD, *Moderator.*

THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF SHELBY M. CULLOM.

Address by HENRY A. CONVERSE, of the Sangamon County Bar, before the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, May 7, 1914.

The year 1830 ushered in an era of great industrial activity in the United States. On November 2 of that year the first American railroad train made a trial trip from Schenectady to Albany, in the State of New York, a distance of seventeen miles. This diminutive and experimental forerunner of modern methods of transportation was hauled by a mere pygmy of a locomotive bearing the dignified and somewhat high sounding name, "Dewitt Clinton," having been named in honor of an early distinguished Governor of the Empire State. Within the space of half a century, the inventive and financial genius of our people had so developed the steam locomotive and the railway that by leaps and bounds railway mileage was increased to thousands and our nation, throughout its length and breadth, was indissolubly bound together by the great shining artificial channels of commerce, the American railway systems. It was the development of rapid transportation by means of the railroads that did more than any other agency in making our nation commercially one. It was the railroad that opened up and settled the prairie and forest. Over these highways were transported from the sea coast to the interior, all those blessings and comforts that go to make for the prosperity and well-being of a civilized and educated people.

The nation, the states and the smaller subdivisions of government all vied one with another in aiding and encouraging the building of railroads. Rights of way, vast tracts of land, and large sums of money were donated to the railroad builder. The credit of states and counties was pledged to promote this industry and vast issues of bonds were voted to carry on the good work.

At last the inevitable happened. The railroad systems when they had waxed fat and powerful, from the lavish generosity of the people, ceased to be disinterested benefactors and became benevolent monarchs and finally grew arrogant and tyrannical.

The people suddenly realized that they were entangled in the meshes of a vast network so interwoven that it could contract and strangle whole communities, that in order to further their own selfish ends the heads of the great railway systems could arbitrarily foster or destroy whole industries, and that favored individuals and localities could get such special privileges that competitors would be forced out of business. The vast business of the railroads was interstate, and under our National Constitution the individual states could not cope with this commercial monster. The question was momentous. To solve this great problem so that both the people and the railroads would get their rights without a financial upheaval called for statesmanship of the highest order. The time was

ripe for a man, wise, discreet and foresighted, one who was courageous enough to undertake a battle along the only line that could surely solve this troublesome question, the regulation of railroads engaged in interstate commerce.

In the year 1830, the same year that the "Dewitt Clinton" so bravely pulled the first American railway train, a man child, less than one year old, was brought by his parents from Wayne County, Kentucky, to Tazewell County, Illinois. This babe was named Shelby, after Governor Shelby, an early and distinguished Governor of the state of Kentucky. This babe grew to manhood, nourished and hardened by the clean, frugal, open air life of the Illinois prairie.

After half a century of industry and training, at the bar and in public life, in that most interesting period of our State's history, we find him a matured and trained lawyer, a successful politician, honored by his State as its Chief Executive. As Governor we find him studying and solving the question of railroad regulation. We see him step from the Governor's office into the United States Senate. At once he brings to that distinguished body his experience in railway legislation, and, within four years after entering the United States Senate, he writes upon our national statute books the most constructive and progressive economic act ever passed by our National Legislature, "The Act to Regulate Interstate Commerce," commonly known as the "Cullom Act." The passage of this act of Congress is generally looked upon as the crowning piece of work in the career of Shelby M. Cullom. It will be in connection with this great law that his name will go down in history. The act was constructive because it curbed a great industrial evil without injury to the rights of property. It created an eminent tribunal which felt its way so carefully and administered its duties so wisely that Congress gradually added to its powers until finally the great interstate railway systems have been brought to the realization that they are public servants and not commercial masters. The act was progressive because it was the first real act of Congress exercising the power to regulate commerce among the states, a power that had lain dormant for practically one hundred years. It blazed the way for the passage of numerous acts based upon the national power to regulate commerce among the states, until this power is recognized as the seat of most of the authority in Congress to legislate for our commercial and industrial welfare. The free exercise of this power has made us one people, commercially, and has completely laid the very ghost of states' rights.

The subject of this sketch, Shelby M. Cullom, has been presented thus far, by a portrayal of the accomplished act of a matured man. The purpose in thus presenting the subject is, that we may have clearly in mind a full realization that this noble son of Illinois, who has but a few days since passed to the great beyond, this man whom many considered behind the times, one of the old guard, a practical politician of the old school, a time serving office holder, possibly lacking in initiative, was in fact a great public spirited soul, who patiently, ploddingly and courageously, almost single handed, attacked in its stronghold one of our most strongly entrenched special interests, made that special interest amenable to the law and emancipated a people who were on the verge of industrial slavery. Having thus given our subject a stage setting, as it

were, let us examine further into the acts and doings of our fellow citizen, and we will find that in private life, at the bar, in the legislative halls, in the executive chair, he moved steadily forward, ever at work, always accomplishing something worth while, clean in public and private life, honored and respected by his fellow man, by his public services a public benefactor.

Shelby Moore Cullom was born in Wayne County, Kentucky, November 22, 1829. He died at Washington, D. C., January 28, 1914. He was the seventh child resulting from the marriage of Richard Northcroft Cullom to Elizabeth Coffey. The elder Cullom moved his family to Tazewell County, Illinois, in 1830.

Shelby M. Cullom received such a common school education as the limited facilities of a rural community then afforded. As the result of teaching school for two terms and farming for himself he succeeded in securing enough funds to take a two-year course at Mount Morris Seminary. It was here that he met and formed a lifelong attachment for the distinguished Illinoisan, Robert R. Hitt.

Young Cullom by reason of his clean, open air life was vigorous and strong although tall and spare. In traveling from Tazewell County to Mount Morris he underwent such an exposure and strain that he seriously impaired his health and from that day to his death he had a veritable thorn in the flesh. The trip from Peru to Dixon was by stage coach. A terrific snow storm came up and the driver could not follow the road. Young Cullom went ahead of the horses to lead the way. In the struggle through the blinding storm he overtaxed his heart, the over-exertion causing what is known as a leaky heart, an affliction which during his long life frequently subjected him to fainting spells, greatly to his embarrassment. For many years prior to his death, while he was actively engaged in public life, or in the stress of a political struggle, his close friends were in constant alarm lest one of these fainting spells would carry him off.

After completing his education young Cullom determined to follow his ambition to practice law and came to Springfield, the State Capital. He sought permission to read law in the office of Abraham Lincoln, but Mr. Lincoln at that time was absent from his office so much, riding the circuit, that he advised young Cullom to enter the office of Stuart & Edwards, which he accordingly did in the year 1853. In 1855 Mr. Cullom was admitted to the bar and shortly after his admission was elected to the office of city attorney of Springfield. He was soon busily engaged in the local courts prosecuting violations of the local ordinances. The majority of his cases grew out of the illegal sale of intoxicating liquors, a decidedly disagreeable class of practice, but a wonderfully fertile field for the study of all phases of human characters.

His first partnership was with Antrim Campbell, but this business relation was of short duration. In 1861 he formed a partnership with Milton Hay, one of Illinois' most distinguished lawyers. The firm of Hay & Cullom continued until 1867, and during its existence it enjoyed a lucrative and extensive practice in the State and Federal courts. The mere fact that young Cullom was taken in as the junior member of this firm, by Milton Hay, is all the proof that is necessary to establish the fact that Cullom had talent, energy and integrity. Milton Hay knew

men and he would not tolerate for a moment a fraud, a sluggard or a dullard. Mr. Hay could choose where he pleased and he demanded and drew to him men worth while. Mr. Cullom next formed a partnership with Charles S. Zane, who was elected Circuit Judge shortly before Mr. Cullom became Governor. In 1883 Judge Zane was appointed Chief Justice of the Territory of Utah, Senator Cullom securing his appointment, where he made an enviable record as a fearless and just judge.

As a lawyer Mr. Cullom was energetic, painstaking and devoted to his client. He was not an orator in the ordinary sense of the term. He did not seek to sway the court or jury by high-sounding phrases, but preferred rather to know his subject from every angle and then present it with the power of conviction. He was a forceful and convincing speaker, simple and pleasing in expression, appealing always to the heart and the head, but never to the prejudices. He outlived by many years his friends and associates at the Sangamon County Bar.

A partial list of those eminent men with whom he associated includes the following sons of Illinois:

Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, Stephen T. Logan, John T. Stuart, Benjamin S. Edwards, John M. Palmer, David Davis, O. H. Browning, Edward D. Baker, Milton Hay, William H. Herndon, Richard Yates, James C. Conkling, Henry S. Green, and John A. McClelland.

To have the esteem and friendship of such a galaxy of legal stars is proof conclusive that Shelby M. Cullom ranked high at the central Illinois bar. Some of those great men were Cullom's political backers in the early days, some of them were for him from city attorney to United States Senator. Some of them were his political opponents and some were defeated by him at the polls.

The legal education and experience of Senator Cullom were of great assistance to him in later years, in executing the great public trusts that were imposed upon him. His intimate association with Milton Hay, John T. Stuart and Benjamin S. Edwards taught him to be discreet and cautious, to weigh well his words and acts. From these men he learned the value of sound and matured judgment. It was characteristic of Mr. Cullom, that while he always reserved the privilege of making up his own mind, he was ever ready to accept and profit by the advice of those whom he recognized as men of discretion and sound judgment. He was never swayed by the opinion of the mere lip talker.

It is remarkable that Mr. Cullom gained any particular recognition at the bar, because of his early and active interest in politics. The law is a jealous mistress and political activities soon compelled Mr. Cullom to give up active practice of the law. It was but natural that one possessed of such a bent for politics should so readily take up this most alluring science. In the early days the law was the most convenient stepping stone to political preferment.

When Mr. Cullom was admitted to the bar, in 1855, a great new political party was just coming into existence. The whole country was smouldering, about to blaze up with the fires of civil war. Great constitutional questions were being discussed by the judges and laymen. All eyes were turned toward Illinois. In the United States Senate we had Stephen A. Douglas, the Little Giant, the champion of states' rights. Young Cullom was not thirty years of age when our whole nation was

stirred to its very soul by the debates between Lincoln and Douglas. No wonder that the young city attorney, fresh from his victory at the polls, so soon after his admission to the bar, should dash into the political arena.

In his book, "Fifty Years of Public Service," Senator Cullom speaks of his entry into politics as follows:

"Having been inducted into the office of City Attorney, I was fairly launched upon a political career, exceeding in length of unbroken service that of any other public man in the country's history. In fact, I never accepted but two executive appointments, the first was an unsought appointment by Abraham Lincoln, after he had become the central figure of his time, if not all time, and second, an appointment from President McKinley as chairman of the Hawaiian Commission."

Possibly Shelby M. Cullom may have inherited a taste for politics. His father, Richard N. Cullom, represented Tazewell County in the State Legislature four terms, as a member of the House of Representatives in the Tenth General Assembly, convened at Vandalia, as a member of the Senate in the Twelfth and Thirteenth General Assemblies and as a member of the House of Representatives in the Eighteenth General Assembly, the last three terms being served at Springfield, the new State Capital. The elder Cullom had but scarcely left the legislative halls ere the younger Cullom appeared as Representative from Sangamon County, in the Twentieth General Assembly, having been elected in the fall of 1856 by a local coalition of the American and Republican parties. This same year he was a candidate as a Fillmore elector, but was defeated. He was again elected to the Twenty-second General Assembly in 1860 as a Republican, the same year that Mr. Lincoln was first elected to the Presidency, receiving a larger popular vote in Sangamon County than did Mr. Lincoln. In the Twenty-second General Assembly young Cullom was signally honored by election as speaker of the House, a great honor for a young lawyer but thirty-one years of age.

It was while acting as Speaker, on April 25, 1861, he introduced to the General Assembly, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, who appeared to make his famous address in which he urged all his friends to set aside party prejudice and come to the rescue of Mr. Lincoln and preserve the Union. This was one of the great events in Illinois history and Senator Cullom always delighted in telling of the wonderful magic of Senator Douglas' oratory. As an adherent of President Lincoln, Mr. Cullom was none too friendly to Senator Douglas, but when he heard that great patriotic address, all antagonism to the Little Giant of Democracy was swept away forever.

After the session of 1861 Mr. Cullom was a candidate for delegate to the State Constitutional Convention but was defeated. He again suffered defeat in 1862 as a candidate for State Senator. These two defeats, together with his defeat at the primaries for renomination for United States Senator in 1912, were the only defeats he ever suffered at the polls, the early defeat as a Fillmore elector not being a personal defeat. The defeat in 1862, however, was anticipated and Mr. Cullom purposely courted defeat to accomplish a rather shrewd political coup.

Having been elected to the Legislature at the same election when Mr. Lincoln was chosen President, he desired to be a member of Congress during the presidency of Mr. Lincoln. The congressional districts were reapportioned as a result of the census of 1860, and Mr. Cullom as speaker so brought it about that Sangamon County was placed in a Republican congressional district, and declared himself a candidate for Congress as a Republican for the election to be held in 1862. At the earnest solicitation of Mr. Leonard Swett, however, whom he greatly admired, he yielded the nomination to Mr. Swett, who was defeated. To keep himself in touch with the voters, Mr. Cullom ran for the State Senate, although the four counties comprising the Senatorial district were strongly Democratic. By thus keeping himself in line he was able to secure the nomination and was elected to the Thirty-ninth Congress in 1864. He was reelected to Congress from this the Eighth Congressional District in 1866 and again in 1868. Thus he brought about his election to Congress while Mr. Lincoln was President by creating for himself a Congressional district, so Gerrymandered as to give his party sufficient strength to elect its candidate.

It is most interesting to observe that in 1864 Mr. Cullom defeated for Congress John T. Stuart, and in 1868 he defeated Benjamin S. Edwards, both opponents being his law preceptors when he entered the law office of Stuart and Edwards as a student in 1853.

Before Mr. Cullom went to Congress he was appointed by President Lincoln in 1862 on a commission with Governor George S. Boutwell and Hon. Charles A. Dana to go to Cairo and settle claims against the Government for property purchased by commissary officers and quartermasters in the volunteer service. Judge Stephen T. Logan had originally been appointed on this commission but could not serve and Mr. Cullom was appointed as his successor. It was a distinct honor to young Cullom to be appointed to serve with such distinguished gentlemen, and it was a great compliment to one so young, to be selected by the President to succeed so able a man as Judge Logan.

In Congress Mr. Cullom became intimately associated with James G. Blaine, Roscoe Conkling, General John A. Logan, E. B. Washburne, Thaddeus Stevens, James R. Garfield, William B. Allison, S. S. Cox, and many other famous men. Here he formed a great attachment for William B. Allison, a firm friendship that continued all through the long senatorial career of Mr. Allison as United States Senator from Iowa.

Allison and Cullom were the campaign managers for Mr. Blaine when he was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Forty-first Congress, and it was generally thought that Mr. Blaine would give Mr. Cullom considerable recognition in the matter of committee assignments. In this respect Mr. Cullom and his friends were doomed to considerable disappointment. Mr. Allison fared but little better.

The attempt of Mr. Cullom to serve a fourth consecutive term in Congress was a failure, as he was defeated for the nomination by Col. Jonathan Merriam. Mr. Merriam, however, was defeated by James C. Robinson, the Democratic candidate. Sangamon County continued to be in a Democratic district from that time until Major James A. Connolly was elected as a Republican in 1894. The result was that

Mr. Cullom was the only Republican who could successfully carry the Congressional district which he so carefully laid out as his own preserves.

After being retired from Congress Mr. Cullom decided to give up politics and enter the business world. Shortly afterwards he became president of the State National Bank at Springfield, Illinois. At this time there was launched a spirited movement to remove the State Capital from Springfield. To combat this movement Sangamon County wanted able men. Accordingly Mr. Cullom was prevailed upon to be a candidate for the Legislature. He was elected and had for colleagues from this district, his old law partner, Milton Hay, and Hon. Alfred Orendorff, a rising young Democrat.

It was with the greatest difficulty that Mr. Hay was induced to become a candidate or stay in the race. This was the first campaign in which the voters could cast three votes for a candidate, the system that is known as plumping. Mr. Hay continually complained that Cullom was such a smooth hand at politics that he would get so many plumps that he, Hay, would get badly left. Mr. Hay practically withdrew as a candidate on numerous occasions until finally Governor Richard J. Oglesby, who was a candidate for United States Senator, made such a personal appeal that Mr. Hay consented that his friends might go ahead with the campaign. When Mr. Cullom saw how fearful Mr. Hay was that too many plumps would be cast for him, Cullom, he put forth every effort to get a square deal for his old law partner, and when the votes were counted they were scarcely fifty votes apart.

Mr. Cullom was promptly elected Speaker of the House, and it goes without saying that the State Capital was not removed. This was in the Twenty-eighth General Assembly, 1872-1874. Mr. Cullom was again elected to the Legislature in 1874, serving in the Twenty-ninth General Assembly. At this session of the Legislature he was the caucus candidate of his party for Speaker of the House, but the independents held the balance of power and by forming a combination with the Democrats elected Elijah M. Haines, Speaker. This was the most notoriously do-nothing session of the Legislature in the history of Illinois. Mr. Cullom was offered the election as Speaker if he would form a combination with the Independents, but he spurned the offer.

Having reentered politics Mr. Cullom decided to be a candidate for Governor. He was nominated as the Republican candidate in 1876 after a stubborn contest. It was during this campaign that an attempt was made to connect him with the notorious "Whiskey Ring" scandals, but although every effort was made to involve him and besmirch his reputation, he came through the ordeal unscathed and was elected Governor.

Governor John L. Beveridge, who succeeded Governor Oglesby when he was elevated to the United States Senate, was the opponent of Mr. Cullom for the Republican nomination. Considerable alleged evidence was dug up to show that Mr. Cullom had been connected with and profited from the notorious "Whiskey Ring" which had operated at Pekin, Illinois, and defrauded the United States Government out of large sums. Mr. Beveridge and his friends made continual threats to

expose him but he went serenely on his way and the proof never materialized. After Mr. Cullom was nominated certain affidavits were made by persons claiming to have positive proof of his connection with the "Whiskey Ring." These affidavits were placed in the hands of Mr. Charles B. Farwell, of Chicago, who laid them before Mr. John W. Bunn, who was then chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, and demanded that Mr. Cullom withdraw as a candidate. Mr. Bunn called the State Central Committee together and notified Mr. Cullom to appear before it. Mr. Cullom appeared and when he learned why he was called, it is said that he was almost majestic in his wrath. He denounced his traducers and challenged them to produce their proof. He was so aroused and pugnacious that his warmest friends were fairly astounded at his conduct. The charges were immediately dropped and never again put in their appearance, although Mr. Cullom continued in public life for full thirty years. In the election Mr. Cullom had for an opponent, Lewis Steward, who had the nomination on both the Democratic and Greenback tickets. The fight was stubbornly fought and it was nearly a week after the election before the final returns showed the election of Mr. Cullom. He defeated Mr. Steward by less than seven thousand votes.

In 1880 he was reelected Governor, being the first Governor to succeed himself. At this election he defeated Lyman Trumbull, who had been United States Senator from Illinois when Mr. Cullom was a Congressman.

In 1883 the term of David Davis as United States Senator expired and Governor Cullom was elected to succeed him. Governor Richard J. Oglesby and General Thomas J. Henderson were candidates against Mr. Cullom, but he easily controlled the Republican caucus. The only serious question was as to whether or not as Governor he was eligible to election to the United States Senate. The preparation of the arguments to show that Governor Cullom was eligible to this office was entrusted to two young men, William J. Calhoun and J. Otis Humphrey. The right to the office was established to the satisfaction of the Legislature and the decision thus gained by these two young men has ever since been recognized as the law by the United States Senate in similar cases.

Senator Cullom succeeded himself as United States Senator in 1889, 1895, 1901, 1907, serving in all, thirty years. During all this period his colleagues from Illinois were all one termers, that is to say, no one of them was able to succeed himself.

In 1889 Mr. Cullom succeeded himself without opposition. In 1894 it seemed that he would surely be retired, as the Democratic party appeared certain to control the Legislature. Fortunately for Senator Cullom, the Republicans controlled the State Legislature and he was again returned to the Senate, defeating George E. Adams and George R. Davis, both of whom became candidates after it was discovered that the Republicans controlled the Legislature. The reelection in 1901 was secured only after a most spirited contest. The campaign lasted for practically two years. As opponents Senator Cullom had Governor John R. Tanner, who had just served as Governor of the State, Hon. Robert R. Hitt, Hon. Joseph G. Cannon, and Hon. George W. Prince. This was his last great fight under the old system. The struggle was

to control the delegates to the State convention, and to nominate and elect friendly members of the Legislature. The friends of Senator Cullom controlled the State convention and it endorsed him for reelection, but failed to nominate Walter Reeves, the Cullom candidate for Governor. But the endorsement did not settle the contest. It went on with renewed vigor until the meeting of the Legislature. When the Legislature convened, the question was still in doubt and it was not until enough members of the Legislature had signed an agreement to vote for Mr. Cullom that his election was finally brought about.

This campaign divided the Republican party in Illinois into the State and Federal crowds and caused so many contests in the various conventions and caucuses that it was one of the principal causes that brought about the adoption of the State-wide primary law. The contest of 1900 and 1901 was bitterly contested to the last ditch because the principal opponent of Senator Cullom was the late John R. Tanner, who had behind him a solid State organization, built while he was Governor, and further, because for many years Governor Tanner had been an ardent supporter of Senator Cullom and in previous campaigns had been his campaign manager.

The new alignment of Cullom forces in this campaign brought prominently to the front as active managers, Hon. J. O. Humphrey and Hon. S. H. Bethea, both of whom, afterwards, were appointed as district judges of the Federal Bench. The great probabilities are that Senator Cullom would have retired from the field and yielded to Governor Tanner, but for the insistence of his managers and friends. The Senator did not relish the struggle with Governor Tanner because he appreciated his power as an organizer and knew that he was an adroit and fearless antagonist. In previous years he had had Tanner for his right hand man, now he had to marshal his forces for a veritable death struggle, at least so it turned out to be for Governor Tanner, who did not long survive his defeat.

In 1906 Senator Cullom was compelled to make an entirely new kind of a battle. He was compelled to go before the Republicans of Illinois in an open primary, seeking the preferential vote of his party. This was the first vote of the kind in Illinois. In 1905 the Illinois Legislature passed a primary law providing for an advisory vote on United States Senator. The primary election was to be held in the spring of 1906. The term of Senator Cullom expired on March 3, 1907. It was necessary to start his campaign practically two years before the time for his election by the Legislature. It had been intimated in some quarters that Senator Cullom won the primary election easily. Such an impression is unfair both to the friends of Senator Cullom and Governor Yates, who was his opponent. Senator Cullom probably never fully appreciated the magnitude of this campaign. He had as an opponent a magnetic popular young man, one who had just made a creditable showing as Governor and who was one of the best campaigners in the State. The friends of Governor Yates were numerous and devoted. On the other hand Senator Cullom was past seventy-six years of age, had not been before the people at large for twenty-six years, was in poor health and the general belief was that he would not live out his term if elected. Many thought that he had been honored enough and that it was time to

select a young and coming man. To many, Governor Yates was an ideal successor. Further, Governor Yates had the support of the State organization, a united and powerful body of men who had served under him while he was Governor. In the Republican State Convention of 1904 it was Mr. Yates who had brought about the nomination of Governor Deneen. Governor Deneen permitted the friends of Mr. Yates to remain in office and gave Mr. Yates his friendly cooperation. Mr. Yates made his campaign against Senator Cullom on the grounds of Federal interference in State affairs. The friends of Senator Cullom very neatly turned the tables on Mr. Yates by replying that Mr. Yates was espousing the doctrine of states' rights, that he had forsaken the true doctrines of the Republican Party and had gone back to an old Democratic doctrine, antedating the Civil War. Of course, this was nothing but campaign talk, but it put Mr. Yates at once on the defensive and it subjected him to no little embarrassment to be continually called upon to prove his loyalty to the Federal Government. He conducted a whirlwind campaign, speaking in every county, attracting as usual good crowds and receiving most favorable press comments. Again Senator Cullom was fortunate in his campaign managers. Down State his principal lieutenants were former Lieutenant Governor William A. Northcott, Charles P. Hitch, John C. Ames, Corbus P. Gardner, and Colonel Frank L. Smith. In Chicago he relied principally upon Mayor Fred A. Busse and Senator D. A. Campbell. The plan of campaign, however, that really won the day was laid out and engineered by Mr. Northcott, who, as a popular organizer and vote getter, had few, if any, equals in this State. The primary law provided for a form of petition for the candidate. A Cullom petition was circulated in every township and city ward in the State. When completed this petition contained practically 130,000 names, the greatest petition ever filed in this State. The circulating of this petition required the organizing of a good sized army and aroused enthusiasm all over the State. Then an executive committee of five was organized in each county, and in turn an executive committee of five in each ward and township. When completed this constituted an organization of practically 20,000 active Republicans. By means of these committeemen, names and addresses were secured until the Cullom mailing list comprised about 150,000 names. A literary bureau was organized that kept all these Republicans supplied with up-to-date literature and press items. While Governor Yates was making great headway with his fiery speeches, Senator Cullom was making quiet but certain progress through his ever-strengthening organization. The primary election was to have been held on the last Saturday in April, 1906, and everything was keyed up for action when the Supreme Court declared the primary law unconstitutional.

The Legislature was called together, and on May 23, 1906, a new law was passed, in force July 1, following. By this new law the primary election was fixed for August 4. The suspense while the new law was being passed was fearful, and it was only by heroic efforts that the Cullom organization was set going again. At the primary Senator Cullom received 158,732 votes and Governor Yates, 113,171. This popular vote was so decisive that Governor Yates promptly and honorably withdrew as a candidate, when the Legislature convened, and

Senator Cullom was reelected for the fifth and last time. This popular endorsement was a great tribute to one who had been so long in public office and was no discredit to Governor Yates, but Governor Yates would have handily won if Senator Cullom had not, as usual, had lieutenants on the ground who could fight in his behalf the right kind of a fight at the right time. In this primary fight Senator Cullom was supported and returned to office by the sons and grandsons of those who had been his loyal supporters in previous generations. In this connection it is worth noting that when the joint assembly met to elect Senator Cullom for the fifth and last time, he was placed in nomination by Hon. Logan Hay, Senator from Sangamon County, son of Milton Hay, the old law partner and counselor of the Senator, and grandson of Stephen T. Logan, the acknowledged leader of the Illinois bar when Mr. Cullom commenced the practice of the law.

It was while Senator Cullom was serving his last term in the Senate that he was called upon to face the greatest crisis of his career, the casting of his vote in the contest that was waged against his colleague Senator William Lorimer of Chicago. No attempt will be made in this memorial to explain away or apologize for the vote of Senator Cullom, but rather a conscientious effort will be made to give the situation as it was, and then state his views as nearly as they can be gathered from his conduct and what he told his friends.

When Senator Cullom entered upon his last term he had for a colleague Hon. Albert J. Hopkins whose term expired March 3, 1909. Senator Hopkins had been a candidate in the Republican primary having as opponents William E. Mason and George Edmund Foss. Senator Hopkins received the plurality party vote and it was supposed that the joint session of the Legislature would elect him, as it had in the previous election of Senator Cullom. When the Legislature met, Mr. Foss and Mr. Mason continued to be candidates, and many members of the Legislature, contending that they should follow the preferential vote in their respective districts and not that of the State at large, refused to vote for Mr. Hopkins and a deadlock ensued lasting from January, 1909, until May following. From March 3, to May 26 the seat of Senator Hopkins was vacant and Senator Cullom was the sole Senator from Illinois. On May 26, fifty-five Republicans and fifty-three Democrats suddenly voted for William Lorimer, who had not previously been a candidate, and Mr. Lorimer was declared elected to succeed Senator Hopkins and forthwith took his seat in the United States Senate.

Nearly a year later on April 30, 1910, the Chicago Tribune published a confession of one Charles A. White to the effect that he and several other Democrats, members of the Illinois Legislature had been bribed to vote for Senator Lorimer. A resolution to investigate the election of Senator Lorimer was introduced in the United States Senate, and the committee on elections and privileges conducted extensive hearings for several months. The Chicago Tribune kept thundering away, demanding that Mr. Lorimer's seat be declared vacant because of corruption at his election. The case became notorious and resulted in a terrific exposure of political conditions and practices in Illinois. Several other members of the Legislature confessed to having been bribed and testified against their colleagues only to be denounced and repudiated by

their fellow legislators and part of the press. Finally the Senate committee on elections reported to sustain Mr. Lorimer. The case was debated in the Senate from January 22 to February 28, 1911, and on March 1 by a vote of 46 to 40 the Senate permitted Mr. Lorimer to retain his seat. During all this turmoil Senator Cullom had refused to indicate how he would vote, but when the question finally came to a vote he voted for Mr. Lorimer. He gave as the ostensible reason for his vote that the evidence did not satisfy him that Mr. Lorimer had any personal knowledge that his election was corrupt, and further that the committee on elections having seen and heard the witnesses and having reported in favor of Mr. Lorimer, he felt it his duty to give his colleague the benefit of the doubt and follow the recommendations of the committee. By thus voting, Senator Cullom lost thousands of his friends, as he knew he would, but the people of this State were charitable and his conduct was quietly accepted without questioning his motive and integrity.

Now let us endeavor to analyze the situation as it appeared to Senator Cullom.

At the time he was called upon to cast his vote he was past eighty-one years of age. For months he had been importuned by his friends to vote both for and against Mr. Lorimer. Most of his old friends and colleagues in the Senate, whose judgment he most highly prized were friendly to Mr. Lorimer. Some of the men in the Senate who were most vigorously denouncing Mr. Lorimer were of the class that he was wont to regard as flamboyant and unmindful of the prerogatives and dignity of the Senate. To fall in line with these was most distasteful to him. He was loath to vote contrary to the findings of the committee on elections, because in his day, in the Senate, the report of a committee was of the greatest weight and not to be turned down except for the gravest reasons. The Senate was largely controlled by its committees, and to this system Senator Cullom had for years yielded steadfast allegiance. He had risen to his position of influence by committee appointment and service, and when his party controlled the machinery of the Senate, he considered a committee report almost controlling. The thunderings of the Chicago Tribune and its followers fairly disgusted him. He had long since rebelled at the modern method of so-called newspaper muckraking, and was fearful that the powerful metropolitan press was becoming a dictator and instead of molding public sentiment by a fearless and impartial publishing of the news of the day, was becoming so powerful that it could combine and ostracize public officials who would not yield to the dictations of the press. If he voted against Mr. Lorimer he considered that it would be a public confession on his part that his State Legislature was corrupt, thereby casting suspicion upon many of his old friends and supporters. He was too old to grasp the changed conditions. He had heretofore dealt with men as individuals and not in masses. He thought that the popular wave against Mr. Lorimer would soon die out. He believed that the public had a short memory and would forget but that the organization of Mr. Lorimer had a long memory and would never forget. He could not bring himself to accept the testimony of self-confessed bribe takers and affidavit makers. He could not erase from his memory the recollection of the men who had made affidavits and offered evidence against him in the days of the old "Whiskey Ring"

scandals. If he voted against Mr. Lorimer he believed that it would be claimed that he was dictated to by the press, that he would appear weak and subservient and that he would be charged with trying to ride a popular wave for his personal advancement. He knew that the popular thing to do was to vote against Mr. Lorimer. He questioned the sincerity of the attack on Lorimer and thought that if he were unseated, it would simply strengthen the opponents of Mr. Lorimer, who in turn would advance themselves without the least consideration for him, Cullom, so he contented himself with saying, that as a judge the evidence did not convince him of the personal guilt of Mr. Lorimer and he would follow the recommendations of the committee on elections. At last we find the man, who for sixty years had read the sentiments of the people of the State of Illinois as an open book, failing to grasp the new conditions, unable to keep step with the new order of the day.

The vote seating Mr. Lorimer did not settle the question. The people did not and would not forget. Alleged new evidence was discovered and on June 1, 1911, the United States Senate reopened the investigation, the new evidence was heard and the hearings continued for another year. Finally on July 13, 1912, the question was again brought to a vote, in the Senate and by a vote of 55 to 28 Mr. Lorimer was unseated. This time Senator Cullom voted against Mr. Lorimer, giving as his reason that the new evidence produced had changed his views.

While the Lorimer investigation was at its height, the term of Senator Cullom was fast drawing to a close. If he was to be a candidate again he must submit his name to the primary in the spring of 1912. He decided to be a candidate again and his friends once more rallied to his cause. He had as opponents Hon. Lawrence Y. Sherman, former Lieutenant Governor, and Hon. Hugh S. Magill, a young man of progressive tendencies, who had made a fine clean record as State Senator.

At the primaries on April 9, 1912, Mr. Sherman defeated Senator Cullom by about 60,000 votes and Senator Cullom in turn defeated Mr. Magill by about 40,000 votes. Senator Cullom accepted his defeat gracefully. It was in the following July that he cast his vote against Mr. Lorimer. After his defeat Senator Cullom stated that he had entered the race reluctantly and only after the urgent solicitation of his friends. Just why he made the race again for a six year term when he was on the verge of being eighty-three years of age, can not be stated to an absolute certainty. No doubt many of his friends did urge him to run again, but the truth probably is that he thought his old organization could again carry the day and he could not give up an ambition which had become almost an obsession, to die in the harness as United States Senator from the State of Illinois. Many of his friends realized the futility of this last race and on several occasions some of them went to Washington for the purpose of advising him not to make the race and to throw his influence to some strong young man, one of his followers, but whenever they undertook to broach the subject the Senator in his inimitable way would deftly turn the conversation and no one could ever be found who could successfully face the aged statesman and deliver an ultimatum. During the entire campaign the Senator continually complained against being dragged into the fight at his advanced age, but

his friends bravely went ahead with the campaign knowing all the time that they were doing as he wished. Both Mr. Sherman and Mr. Magill made state-wide speaking campaigns, while Senator Cullom remained at Washington, and it is to the everlasting credit of both of these gentlemen that during the entire campaign neither one of them said an unkind or harsh thing against the aged man.

In the fall election of 1912 the Republican State and National tickets were defeated so that Mr. Cullom, who did not retire until March 3, 1913, remained in office some months after the Republican State officers were retired. The Republicans did not control the General Assembly so Mr. Sherman did not succeed Senator Cullom, but after an extended deadlock Mr. Sherman was elected to fill out the unexpired term of Mr. Lorimer and Hon. James Hamilton Lewis was elected for the full term of six years to succeed Senator Cullom. After serving thirty years consecutively as United States Senator from Illinois, Mr. Cullom was finally succeeded by a Democrat.

In addition to keeping his own fences in good repair, Senator Cullom and his followers were always in line for the Republican ticket, and no campaign was waged in Illinois during the last half century in which Senator Cullom did not have a distinct part. He always attended the party conventions and his lieutenants were always prominent in the councils of the party. In 1872 Mr. Cullom was chairman of the Illinois delegation to the National Republican convention and had the honor of placing in nomination for the Presidency General U. S. Grant. Again in 1884, 1892, 1904, and 1908, he was a delegate and chairman of the Illinois delegations to the Republican national conventions. Thus is detailed the principal political activities of Shelby M. Cullom.

For length of service and variety of honors achieved, his political record has no equal in the history of our country.

His political successes were contemporaneous with the successes of his party, nay even more, he frequently enjoyed the fruits of victory when his party was in the throes of defeat.

His espousal of the Republican party at its inception was accompanied by election to office. He continued to share in all the triumphs of his party and did not succumb until his great party had received its most crushing defeat, when its forces were divided by the creation of a new party. He came on the scene at the birth of a new party. He left the stage at the birth of a new party.

In fullness of years he spanned more than two-thirds of the life of our nation. He knew intimately every President from Lincoln to Wilson, one-half of all our Presidents. For more than half a century he knew personally every man who reached any prominence in the councils of our nation.

He was a practical politician. He knew the value of patronage and secured appointments for men who counted. He was loyal to his friends and his friends reciprocated by delivering full measure in his behalf. He played the game according to the rules. No doubt he did many things which were most distasteful to him, many things which he preferred not to do, but he had put his hand to the plow and was determined to plow a straight furrow to the end. His political life was one continual battle. He stood ever ready to fight his enemies and was compelled to be ever

on guard against faithless friends. He saw New England States select worthy Senators and then return them term after term, without a struggle, until by length of service they reached positions of influence and power. No such honor was accorded to him. No matter what honors he achieved, no matter what great laws he got upon our Statute books, he came from a western state and must ever stand ready to fight for his election. While he was at his post of duty his opponents were always busy out in the State undermining him and continually seeking to compass his defeat. His early political training was secured in the school founded by Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln was the master politician of our Republic. Cullom knew, as did Lincoln, that to do things for the State and the nation, it was necessary, first, to get and then to hold the office. To get and to hold public office, one must get votes. To get votes one must be a politician and a practical one at that. Our form of government is republican. The citizen at the ballot box is the sovereign. Under our system of government the public officeholder and public servant must first secure the consent of the sovereign people at the polls. Shelby M. Cullom offered himself repeatedly and the people as repeatedly gave him the necessary votes. If he would be a statesman he must first be a politician. This he knew and this he freely acknowledged.

Although poor in this world's goods he forged steadily ahead, ever ascending, always respected, clean in personal and public life, the acme of political success and perfection. Not only was he content to remain a man of limited means, but so constituted was he, that the many opportunities that came to him to acquire wealth did not tempt him in the least nor for an instant absorb his time or attention to the detriment of his public service.

To read the long list of his political successes naturally gives rise to the question as to whether or not he stood for things that were for the real and lasting benefit of the people, or to hold office did he shift with each changing popular whim? Was he a politician simply to be a timeserving officeholder, or did he, after he got the office, use it to give the people real service, service that would make our country better in the years to come, service that would make our people freer and happier? Will he be known to history as America's most unique and successful politician, or will he go down in history as a real statesman?

Let us take a brief survey of the things he accomplished, and possibly we may find the answer in the things done rather than in the words spoken.

In his first elective office, that of city attorney of Springfield, he so favorably impressed such men as Mr. Lincoln, Judge Logan and others that they gave him their support for the Legislature. He so conducted himself as a member of the Legislature during his first term, that although scarcely thirty years of age he was elected Speaker of the House, for his second term, in 1861. Mr. Cullom himself is authority for the statement that he made more friends in the conduct of the office of Speaker than were ever made by him subsequently in any office or service. His conduct as Speaker of the House gave him such standing that he was sent to Congress for three successive terms. In these campaigns many of his most ardent supporters were men who were opposed to him politically but who supported him because of their faith in him.

He served in Congress during the days of reconstruction, days that were fraught with the greatest peril to our reunited nation. He supported the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. He witnessed the struggle between Congress and President Johnson with fearful forebodings. Together with Judge Orth of Indiana, he went in person to plead with the President to conciliate Congress and avoid the dangers of impeachment, but found the President obdurate and self-willed. He saw the crisis approaching and counseled earnestly with his friends, Senator Lyman Trumbull, James G. Blaine, and others, and upon their advice finally decided to vote for the impeachment of President Johnson. Imagine his surprise when Senator Trumbull denounced the impeachment proceedings in the Senate and voted to sustain the President.

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Blaine cavalierly gave Mr. Cullom the choice of the chairmanship of the committee on claims or territories. He chose the committee on territories and while serving in this capacity he introduced and secured the passage of a bill in the House providing stringent measures for the suppression of polygamy. He was so intent on stamping out this great evil that subsequently he secured from President Arthur the appointment of his old law partner, Charles Zane, as Chief Justice of Utah; and it was the fearless and masterly way in which Judge Zane handled the situation that did so much to destroy the "twin relics of Barbarism." Thus Mr. Cullom in his practical way accomplished his desire by sending directly to the seat of the difficulty a man, ready, willing and able to enforce the law as it was written.

After retiring from Congress this lawyer-politician became president of the State National Bank in Springfield. This was certainly a distinct recognition of his integrity and standing with the business interests of his home city.

Soon we find him again in the Legislature and Speaker of the House. It was while serving in the State Legislature after returning from Congress that Mr. Cullom seemed to get a new inspiration to serve his State and Nation in a bigger and broader way. Illinois had adopted a new Constitution in 1870 and it was while Mr. Cullom was Speaker in 1873 and 1874 that a complete revision of the State laws was undertaken, resulting in the publishing of the "Revised Statutes of the State of Illinois, A. D. 1874." The early seventies witnessed the so-called "Granger Legislation" and the construction of State laws for the control of railroad transportation. Illinois at that time was in the forefront in railroad mileage, and naturally the wave of popular sentiment demanding State control and regulation swept over this State. In 1871 our Legislature passed a law on the subject of railroad regulation but it was rather ineffective.

Speaker Cullom saw the great possibilities in the wise solution of this great question and seized the opportunity to make this the ambition of his life. He appointed a select committee of the Legislature to draft amendments to the law. In the work of this committee he took the most intense interest. The committee reported a bill which was passed and became the Illinois law on the subject of railroads and warehouses, an advanced and highly meritorious law, a law that remained practically

unchanged until the Railroad and Warehouse Commission was absorbed by the State Utilities Commission in 1914.

After Mr. Cullom became Governor in 1877 he appointed a new and strong Railroad and Warehouse Commission, which immediately went to work under his supervision to carry out, enforce and test the workings of the law.

It was the study of this question of railroad regulation and the practical experience in the enforcement of such a law, while he was in the Legislature and as Governor, that prepared Mr. Cullom for the great work that was to come. In this connection it is interesting to note what influences surrounded the Governor, influences of his own choosing, and how he proceeded to accomplish the ends he desired.

Above all he was wise in the counsels he sought. He had for a private secretary Mr. E. F. Leonard, a well poised, polished gentleman but a few years his junior. Mr. Leonard was more than a secretary; he was a friend and counselor, one who was willing to stay in the background; but who gave lavishly of his many talents to the sustaining and guiding of his superior. Mr. Leonard was ever on guard and by reason of his matured judgment was privileged to press his convictions upon the Governor. It is claimed by those in a position to know that to Mr. Leonard is due a large share of the credit for the attitude Governor Cullom took towards the railroads. Contrary to his usual conservatism Governor Cullom appeared somewhat carried away with the popular cry against the railroads and seemed in danger of being too radical. The instinct of the politician to please his constituents was strong, but Mr. Leonard was the brake on the wheel and his calm judgment kept the Governor in check, caused him to make haste slowly. But for this deterring influence, radical and possibly ill advised steps might have been taken, that would have forestalled the accomplishment of the great success in coming years.

As chief legal advisor, Governor Cullom leaned largely upon Milton Hay. When in doubt about a law or legal procedure it was the judgment of Mr. Hay that controlled. A prominent Chicago lawyer, once seeking the support of Governor Cullom for a proposed law, was heard to ask repeatedly, "Who is the Governor of the State—Hay or Cullom?"

In the background was John W. Bunn, who at that time was prominent in Illinois politics, serving repeatedly as chairman and member of the Republican State Central Committee. In shaping the policies of the administration it was the function of Mr. Bunn to sound out and find the sentiment of the influences of the State. Governor Cullom was big enough and broad enough to rely upon the combined judgment of Messrs. Leonard, Hay and Bunn, three eminently successful business men, of unquestioned integrity and devoted to his interests. A most interesting illustration of how Mr. Cullom relied upon these three friends is shown in the great sound money speech that Governor Cullom made at Rockford, Illinois. In the seventies one of the catchy new isms of the day was the "Greenback" craze. Mr. Cullom had shown some temerity in facing this question. In those days it took real courage to come out firmly for sound, honest money. Governor Cullom received an invitation to speak on this issue at Rockford, but hesitated to accept. He was fearful of the results and hated to declare himself. Mr. Leonard insisted

that he make the address and take a positive stand. Finally the Governor consented to accept the invitation on condition that Mr. Leonard would write the speech. Mr. Leonard prepared the address and it was gone over line by line, sentence by sentence with Mr. Hay and Mr. Bunn. It was an address to the point, without dodging or begging the question; it was for sound, honest money first, last and all the time. The three friends were fearful that the Governor would not have the courage to deliver it. On the appointed day the Governor gave the address exactly as written. It rang out all over the country and was copied in New York and hailed with delight by the opponents of the "Greenback" craze. Thus did Governor Cullom array himself on the side of sound money and he did not waver from this position during the balance of his days. It is but fair to Mr. Leonard, who is still living* an honored and retired life at Amherst, Massachusetts, to state that he is not authority for what has just been said about him and has not been consulted about thus giving him such a share in the administration of Governor Cullom.

Governor Cullom had served as Governor but six months when the great railway strikes were declared in July, 1877. Instantly traffic ceased and disorder and destruction of property was imminent. One of the worst conditions was at East St. Louis. To this city the Governor went in person and tried to relieve the situation by moral suasion, but failed. Seeing that it was futile to temporize he called out the State troops and soon had the situation in hand. In Chicago he found the State troops practically worthless, so he promptly called upon the National Government for aid. Upon the arrival of several companies of regulars, order was at once restored. Thus we see how he met one of the most trying situations that can ever confront a Governor.

When it came to considering applications for pardons, he instituted the practice of publishing in the county where the trial occurred, a notice of the application, and also required written statements of the trial judge and State's attorney giving their views of the merits of the case. This practice has since been extended by the creation of a State Board of Pardons, which follows largely the same procedure.

His administration was strictly a business one. Under his supervision the penitentiary was built at Chester and an additional hospital for the insane was constructed at Kankakee. His administration also saw the paying off of the last of the State debt.

He studied the State and its people. He became familiar with the great families and their descendants who settled the various parts of the State. He was able to select representative men who stood well in their localities. Having appointed such representative men to office, he left them free from executive interference, but held them strictly accountable for the trust imposed. Thus he drew to him strong, able men and these men of affairs and their descendants became the strength and backbone of the so-called Cullom organization that was so effective in Illinois for so many years. His administration was rather uneventful but eminently successful. He was never embarrassed by any unseemly scandals in any of his departments.

His relations with the Legislature were most friendly, and the charge was never made that he, as Governor, ever tried to organize or

* Mr. Leonard died in New York City April 5, 1915.

dictate to the Legislature; and yet, it can be safely said, that no Legislature convened during his administration that was not organized by his friends and on a basis entirely friendly to him. So skillful was he in handling men and so versed was he in legislative practices, that he brought about a friendly organization without his influence being felt or suspected.

When Governor Cullom became United States Senator he had already acquired considerable prestige as a national character. Having served several terms in his State Legislature and in Congress and having been twice Governor of Illinois, he expected some recognition in the Senate, compatible with his services. He found, however, like all new Senators, he must bide his time and that he could command attention only by meritorious service. The caucus of the Senate assigned him to the committee on railroads, a purely ornamental committee, having practically no excuse for existence other than to furnish a chairmanship for one of the majority. Then occurred one of those incidents so rare and remarkable but such a source of delight to all students of legislative bodies and procedure; this new Senator by the magic of his genius, took this insignificant appointment, this purely honorary position, and elevated it and clothed it with power and dignity until in a brief space of time, before he had completed his first term as Senator, he reported from the committee and had passed through the Senate the Interstate Commerce Act, now generally admitted to be the most constructive economic act ever passed by Congress. The passage of this act was the culmination of the years of struggle and toil, out in Illinois, struggling with the great question of railroad regulation commencing as Speaker of the House in 1873.

The great principles underlying the act are now recognized by everyone as self-evident; but at the time of its passage it was considered by many most able men to be radical and dangerous.

When Senator Cullom reported this bill from his committee on railroads, it created but little stir. It was regarded as a new legislative wrinkle that would give its author some notoriety but not worthy of very serious consideration. The great conservative, deliberative Senate surely would not pass such a measure, striking such a terrific blow at the greatest of all vested interests, the American Railway System. Nothing daunted, Senator Cullom secured the appointment of a committee to investigate the question throughout the country. He, of course, was chairman of this committee and after taking evidence, prepared the committee's report to the Senate, favoring the bill. Then the battle began, then the special interests all rallied to the defense of the railroads, but to no avail. The campaign had been planned by a master mind, one skilled in the ways of legislative bodies. At last the bill was attacked most fiercely on that ground upon which all great remedial and constructive measures are fought, the ground that it was unconstitutional. Many of the ablest and strongest lawyers in the Senate opposed the bill on this ground, when almost providentially, at the very height of the battle, the United States Supreme Court on October 25, 1886, decided the very question at issue, in the case of *Wabash Railway Company v. Illinois*, reported in 118 U. S., 557. What a remarkable coincidence! That this case which decided the law in favor of the con-

stitutionality of the Interstate Commerce Act, should be appealed from the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois and should involve the interpretation of one of the railroad regulating acts, passed when Mr. Cullom was Speaker of the House of Representatives, in 1873. In this case the National Supreme Court held that commerce among the states could be regulated by Congress alone and that the states must keep hands off of such commerce even for that portion of the haul within the State boundaries. With the law thus settled the opposition to the act became purely and simply, the vested interest against the general welfare, and the latter won the day. To Shelby M. Cullom and to him alone belong the honor and glory of this accomplishment. No one but a strong man could have taken a position on a most insignificant committee and from the humble position attack so powerful a special interest and defeat it in its very citadel. No one but a genius in legislative procedure could have successfully piloted his way to victory with such a momentous issue, during his first term in the United States Senate. No one but a man of courage would have attempted such a thing, when he knew so well the powers that must be overcome. No one but a man of patience, perseverance and indomitable stick-to-it-tiveness could have trod the long toilsome, tortuous road that leads to victory.

Time does not permit a discussion of this law. Suffice it to say that this law reinforced by amendments and administration now governs in justice two hundred and fifty thousand miles of railway. The law was attacked in the courts and gradually the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission were curtailed, by judicial construction, but each judicial decision pointed out the necessary remedy; and Senator Cullom was fortunate to remain in the United States Senate to maintain and defend this great act until finally, before his death, he saw the law interpreted, amended and clarified until all doubts were swept aside and the law now stands supreme, a complete and unassailable act.

It took more than a generation to accomplish this result. This illustrates a great characteristic of the man. He eked out for the people their rights an inch at a time. He got what he could at the start and then added to it little by little, until the people and the railroads were educated up to accepting the completed work. The passage of this one act, the living and defending it until it was impregnable, is honor enough for one man; but the passing and enforcing of the act did more than remedy the mere evils aimed at; it opened a vast field of legislative endeavor. It was the first real exercise by Congress of the power to regulate interstate commerce.

Immediately upon the passage of the act the Senate created the Committee on Interstate Commerce and placed Senator Cullom in the chairmanship. This committee at once took rank as and still is one of the greatest committees of the Senate. As chairman of this committee Senator Cullom introduced and had passed through the Senate another great act, this one a remedial, a humane law, the safety appliance law of 1893. This law required interstate railroads to equip their cars with automatic couplers and operate their trains with air brakes connected with the engines. We hear much today of social justice, of legislation to protect the life and limb of the laboring man; and these and kindred subjects are treated as modern and progressive ideas:

and yet more than twenty years ago, Senator Cullom secured the passage and enforcement of an act that has saved untold numbers of lives and limbs.

The mere fact that such an act, requiring such an enormous expenditure for equipment, could be introduced without unfavorable comment is a testimonial to the standing of Senator Cullom. Rare it is, that such a bill can ever be introduced in any legislative body without the charge that it was introduced as a sandbag and to hold up the corporations.

The principal energies of Senator Cullom for forty years were along the lines of corporate regulations; yet during all that period the charge was never made that he was not sincere or that he was seeking personal gain.

On the heels of the safety appliance act came the act regulating the hours of employment of employees engaged in interstate traffic, the employer's liability act making interstate carriers liable for injury or death of employees, all relating to the regulation of interstate railroads.

A partial list of the great laws following the Interstate Commerce Act and based upon the same power which this act invoked, includes the following: The Anti-Trust Act, the Anti-Rebating Act, The Act to Suppress Lotteries, The Food and Drugs Act, and the White Slave Act. Numerous other acts could be mentioned. All of these acts based solely on the power to regulate commerce among the states are constructive and progressive. They give extensive powers to our National Government and relate to the industrial and moral freedom and welfare of our people. They give to the General Government the powers necessary to cope with these great questions with which the individual states are unable to deal.

Senator Cullom remained as chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce until 1901, when he became chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the most distinguished committee of the Senate, remaining however as the ranking member of the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He was prouder of his position as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations than any public service he ever performed. The position was highly dignified and the committee composed of Senators of the highest standards and ideals. To this committee come for consideration our relations with foreign nations and all treaties entered into by the President. This committee always stands in a highly confidential relation to the administration. A partial list of chairmen preceding Senator Cullom contains the following names: Barbour of Virginia, Henry Clay, James Buchanan, Rives, Benton, Cass, King, Sumner, Hannibal Hamlin, Windom, John Sherman and Cushman K. Davis.

At one time while Senator Cullom was chairman of the Senate committee, Hon. Robert R. Hitt, his old schoolmate, was chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Relations, and John Hay was Secretary of State. Thus we find three distinguished sons of Illinois intimately associated in this great branch of Governmental service.

It was while Senator Cullom was chairman of this committee, serving in connection with the Secretaries of State, John Hay and Elihu Root, that the diplomatic service of the United States was reorganized and a distinct and new type of American diplomacy was instituted. The

reorganization completely changed the personnel of our foreign diplomatic corps by attracting to the service and appointing trained men who were given an opportunity to rise in the service by demonstrating their merits and capacity to serve. The new type of diplomacy had for its watch-words "frankness" and the "square deal"—the kind of square deal that is illustrated by our paying to Spain \$20,000,000 for the Philippines, when we were able to take the islands without compensation as spoils of war.

Time will not permit any detailed account of the numerous and important treaties handled by Senator Cullom.

Suffice it to say that he was most diligent and succeeded in securing the ratification of more treaties than was ever secured in an equal length of time.

As chairman of this committee he earnestly supported and had much to do with securing the ratification of the treaty with Panama, making possible the building of the Panama Canal, thus closely connecting his name with the greatest engineering feat of the ages. In this service he became greatly attached to Elihu Root, first, as Secretary of State and then as Senator from New York, and frequently expressed his desire to see Mr. Root President of the United States.

Senator Cullom also served as the third ranking member of the Committee on Appropriations and was chairman of the subcommittee having in charge the legislative, executive and judicial bill, in which capacity he had charge of appropriations amounting to about thirty millions of dollars annually.

Early in his service as Senator he was chosen as one of the board of regents of the Smithsonian Institution, a great national institution located in Washington for the diffusion of knowledge among men. Over this board the Chief Justice of the United States presides. Mr. Cullom enjoyed the honor of this appointment at the hands of the Senate for more than twenty-five years.

At last, by virtue of his long years of service, he became the chairman of the Senate Committee on Committees. To this committee is given the power of making the assignment of the various senators to the Senate committees. This appointment gave him great distinction and much authority over the organization of the party machinery of the Senate.

Aside from his service on these great Senate committees Senator Cullom was greatly honored by appointments by President McKinley as Chairman of the Commission to visit the Hawaiian Islands which had then just been acquired. The other members of the Commission were Senator Morgan of Alabama, and Hon. Robert R. Hitt, Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. The Commission visited the Islands for the purpose of framing a law providing for their civil government and defining their relation to the United States. Senator Cullom was in charge of the bill recommended by the Commission, which was enacted and stands as the organic law of these Islands today.

In the foreign diplomatic service there are today many men who received their appointments by the personal endorsement and solicitation of Senator Cullom. So it comes about that, by reason of the many treaties ratified during his service and the appointment of his friends abroad, his influence is still felt across the seas.

There is still one other field in which he left his impress. He had a large part in the passage of the act creating the Circuit Court of Appeals. The Supreme Court of the United States had become so congested that it was several years behind with its work. Several remedies were suggested. Senator Cullom favored the creation of intermediate courts modeled largely after the Appellate Court system in Illinois and this plan was adopted. Now we have some nine Circuit Courts of Appeal hearing hundreds of appealed cases annually and greatly relieving the Supreme Court. Here the Senator left his impress, in the field of his chosen profession.

The last activities of Senator Cullom were in connection with the building of a great Memorial to President Lincoln. The erecting of this testimonial of a grateful people had been his fondest hope for several years. His love for the martyred President grew with the years. As he advanced in years, like all aged men, he harked back to the early days, the days of youth, of energy, of ambition. As he looked back in retrospection, the giant form of the Emancipator grew larger and more majestic, until the ideal of his youth became the realization of the ages. Senator Cullom was the last remaining link, in public life, connecting the present day directly with that interval of time when the martyred President preserved inviolate the Union of our forefathers. The boy, Shelby, when but twelve years of age, had met Mr. Lincoln as a guest at his father's house. As he grew to manhood his ambition to study law was inspired by the tales of Lincoln and his fellow circuit riding lawyers. When he started to study law he sought admission to Mr. Lincoln's law office. Subsequently he became a member of the law firm to which Mr. Lincoln had belonged. He tried lawsuits with Mr. Lincoln. In his first political campaigns, those for city attorney and member of the Legislature, he had the support of Mr. Lincoln. He sat at the feet of Lincoln and heard him deliver the famous "House Divided Against Itself" speech. He received appointment at the hands of Mr. Lincoln and during his presidency made trips to Washington, where he had the privilege of easy access to the White House. In order that he might go to Washington and serve in Congress and thus support and defend the administration, he carved out of the Illinois prairies a district for himself. For decades after Mr. Lincoln and his associates had passed from the scenes, Shelby M. Cullom stood forth strong in the councils of his nation, pointed out as one who not only had seen and met Lincoln, but as one who had enjoyed his friendship and merited his support and confidence.

In his last years in the Senate, Senator Cullom secured an appropriation amounting to two million dollars to erect the National Lincoln Memorial. A fitting location and a magnificent design for the monument were chosen. March 3, 1913, arrived and found this work unfinished and Shelby M. Cullom about to retire to private life. Without his knowledge and entirely unsolicited the colleagues of Senator Cullom made him the resident Commissioner to supervise the building of the memorial. Not only was he appointed as resident Commissioner without his knowledge or solicitation, but not one single member of the Senate or the House voted against his appointment or raised any objections to

it, one of the greatest tributes ever paid him. In this capacity he served until his death.

And so we find him to the last engaged in a great public service, a labor of love and devotion. What a wonderful record of things well done! What a magnificent part he played in the history of his Nation! For sixty years he stood in the limelight of public scrutiny with unsullied name and reputation. His hands were clean. His life was beyond reproach. No one can fairly read the record of noble things done and ever sneeringly refer to him as a timeserving politician, a chronic office seeker, without hanging his head in shame. We can read his record at the bar; we can marvel at his success as a politician; we can hear tales of how he halted and hesitated, trimmed his sails, temporized, played the ordinary political tricks, tramped from department to department seeking appointments for his followers; but when we read the record of the things well done, of how he stamped his impress upon our Nation's history, all the doubts, fogs and mists vanish forever; and we see his personality standing forth in the bright light; we see nothing but an erect, gaunt, kindly disposed, patient, plodding, modest man among men, a noble and practical type of American statesman.

Now we see why he played the game as he did. He had his ideals and ambitions. He would do big and lasting things. He knew the American people and he knew that political success was the science of second bests. He knew that the ideal could not be reached in one leap. He so ordered his ways that he could progress step by step, keeping constantly in touch with his fellowman, but never too far in advance. As has been aptly said, "He marched in the procession but always saw a day's journey ahead."

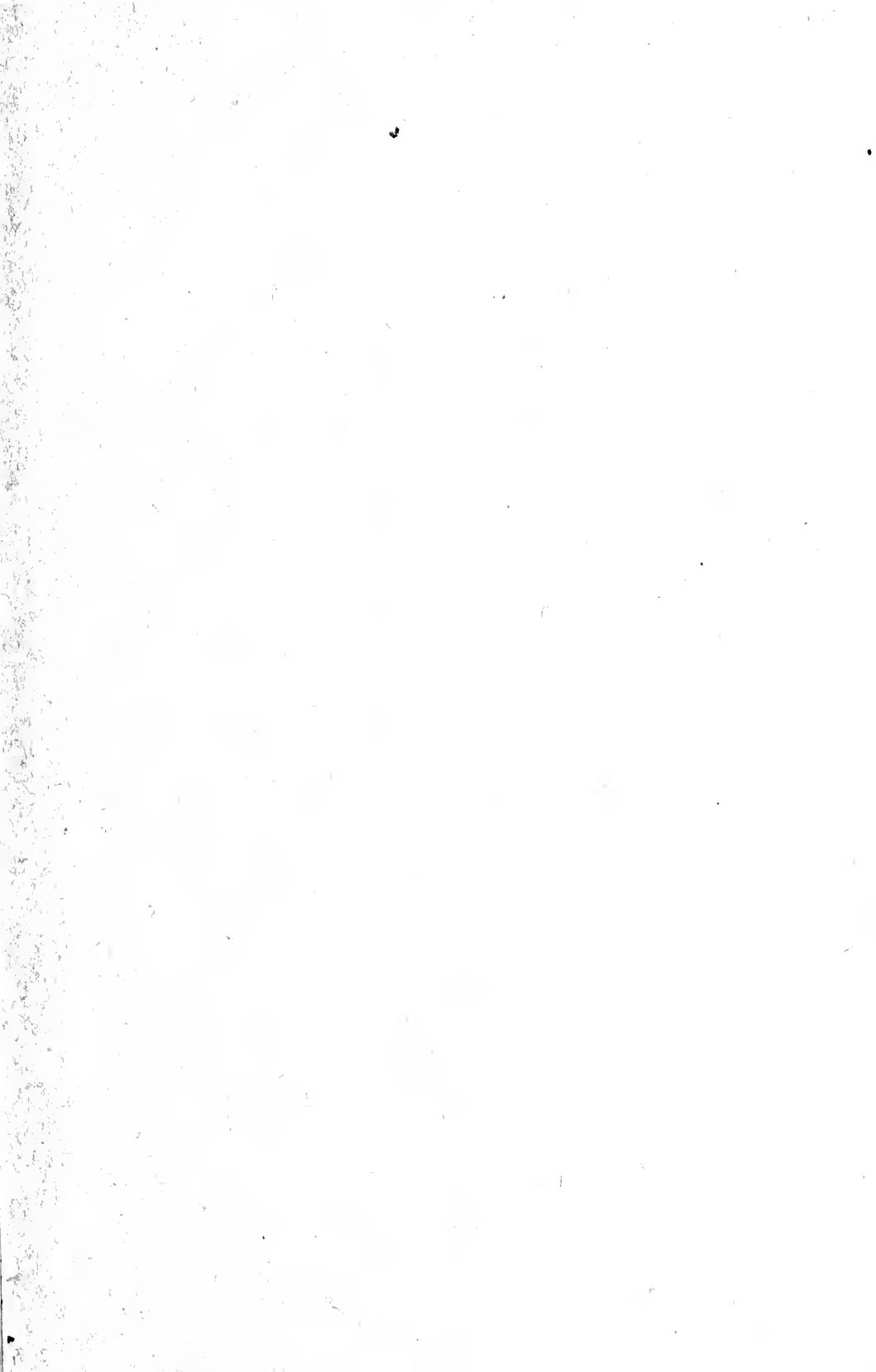
Let us not intrude upon the sacred inner circle of his family life. Suffice it to say that his home life was ideal but in his family relations he was a man of many sorrows. His whole immediate family, two wives and four children preceded him to the grave. He left two granddaughters as his only direct descendants. He left no male child to perpetuate his name.

From Washington his remains were brought to Springfield, Illinois, for interment. On Sunday, February 1, 1914, funeral exercises were held in Representatives Hall in the State Capitol, to which the public was admitted. In this legislative hall in which he had been five times elected to the United States Senate, beautiful and impressive services were held. Here former United States Senators and Governors, members of Congress, eminent jurists and lawyers, representatives of strong business interests from all parts of the State, friends and neighbors, the distinguished and the humble reverently paid their last respects to the memory of this man who had so long and faithfully represented the State. Looking down upon his remains were the portraits of Lincoln and Douglas, the two great sons of Illinois, both friends and associates of the deceased, who had preceded him to the grave beyond a half century ago. Fitting addresses were delivered by Governor Edward F. Dunne, Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman, Dr. Donald McLeod, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, and Hon. Clinton L. Conkling of the Sangamon County Bar.

Memorial exercises were held in the Sangamon County Circuit Court, Judge James A. Creighton presiding. The Sangamon County Bar Association adopted fitting resolutions which together with addresses delivered by distinguished members of the bar were spread upon the records of the court. The members of the bar attended the funeral ceremonies in a body.

Memorial exercises were also held in the United States District Court for the Southern District of Illinois, Judge J. O. Humphrey presiding. On this occasion the members of the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois attended in a body and occupied the bench with Judge Humphrey. The resolutions of the Sangamon County Bar and addresses by eminent members of the bar were made a matter of record and placed in the archives of the court.

On a beautiful knoll in Oak Ridge Cemetery, in the shadow of the tomb of Abraham Lincoln, sleeps in peace all that is mortal of Shelby M. Cullom.



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